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The ICFTU Meets in Tunis

by Al Zack

When Women Work

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From Merger, Forward!

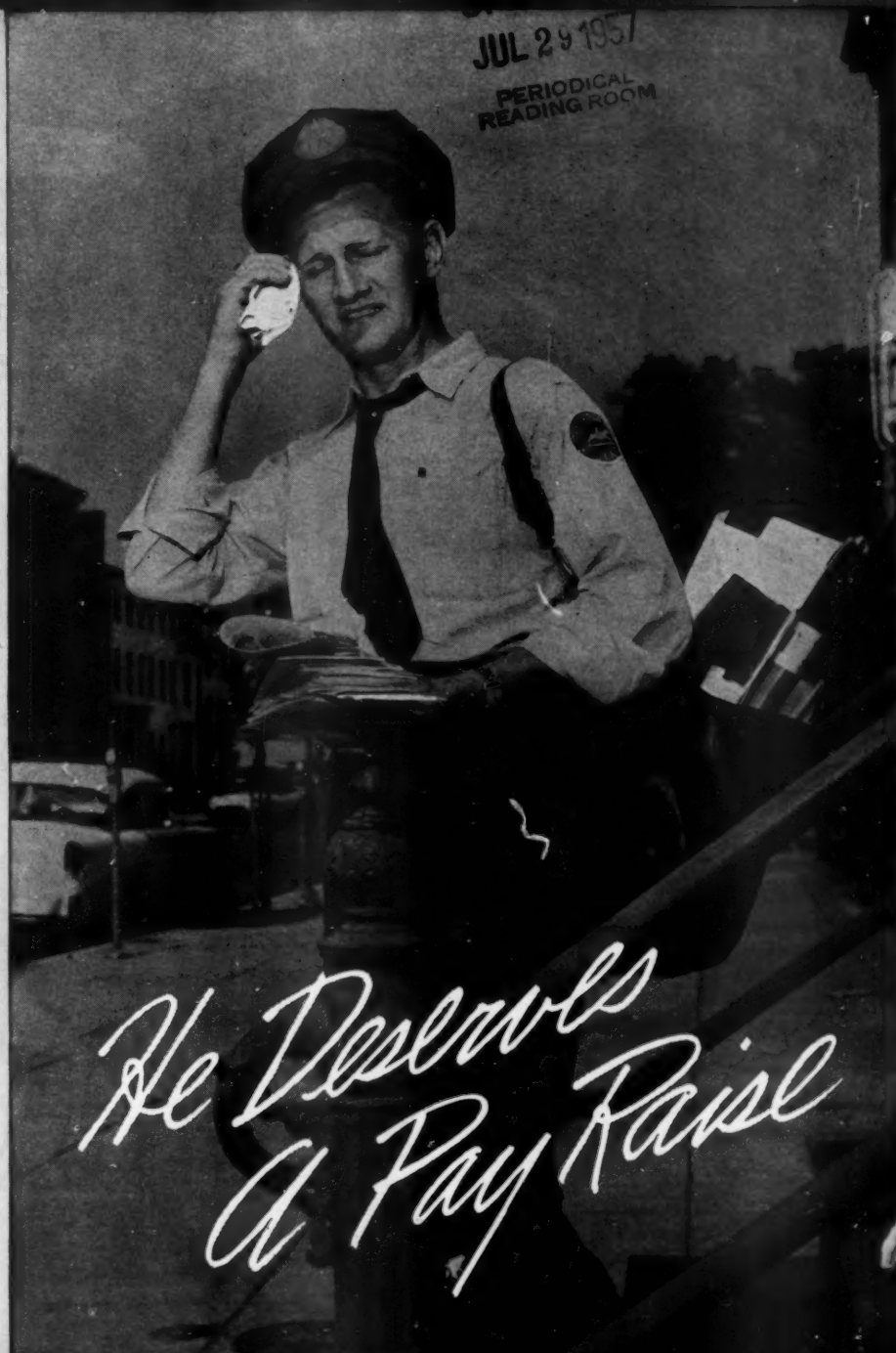
by Paul L. Phillips

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by Harry Goldberg





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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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In This Issue

HUNGARY: GUILT AND REDEMPTION.....	George Meany	2
THE ICFTU MEETS IN TUNIS.....	Al Zack	4
WHEN WOMEN WORK.....	Nancy Pratt	7
SECRETARY HUMPHREY CHARGES.....		10
MR. HUMPHREY IS WRONG.....	Harry C. Bates	10
FROM MERGER, FORWARD!.....	Paul L. Phillips	12
KOHLER STRIKERS WILL NEVER GIVE UP.....	Allan J. Garskamp	14
AGREEMENT REACHED ON JURISDICTION.....		15
WHO TEACHES YOUR CHILDREN?.....	Carl J. Megel	16
LABOR AND POLITICS IN ITALY.....	Harry Goldberg	18
REMOVING JOB BARRIERS.....	Charles Abrams	20
LET'S LOOK AT WORKERS' EDUCATION.....	Mark Starr	22
FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS.....		27
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....		28
BOOK NOTE.....		31
WHAT THEY SAY.....		32

17 OCT 1957

Mediation

Free collective bargaining, the heart of our national labor policy, is a process of persuasion and reasoning by which employers and their workers mutually accommodate their self-interests to the circumstances prevailing at the time.

It necessarily implies an open mind and a willingness to be persuaded, as well as trying to persuade the representatives on the other side. It is far more than mere physical presence around the bargaining table. It is primarily a type of attitude or approach, adopted in the common good.

Mediation, as an adjunct to free collective bargaining, can function effectively only to the extent that the parties accept it with a full recognition of its voluntary nature and non-partisan aspect. Based upon such acceptance and recognition, the vital collective bargaining upon which our national labor policy is premised can be stimulated and materially assisted by mediation.

Mediation is merely the process of interceding between individuals, groups of individuals or even nations to assist the parties to compose their differences amicably—with no element of compulsion. The most effective tool of the mediator is persuasion. It is not his function to tell the parties what they must do or must not do. His function is that of helping them to work out their own solutions, not to make up their minds for them.

Mediation is only a small thread in the total fabric of collective bargaining; it is in a sense a lubricant, perhaps a catalyst. It is not a cure-all for the ills to be found in the troublesome field of labor relations, nor is it a substitute for collective bargaining. Basically, the mediator proceeds on the theory that the parties desire agreement and that there is a public, as well as a private, interest in avoiding disruptive disputes.

Mediation's proper role must never be lost sight of. Labor and management must always be alert to detect and combat any attempt to foist off on the parties government intervention beyond voluntary mediation, as a substitute for free understanding and agreement.

Joseph F. Finnegan.

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AN EDITORIAL BY GEORGE MEANY

Hungary: Guilt and Redemption

AS A CASE HISTORY of Soviet Russia's international criminality and its gross betrayal of the fundamental human interests of workers, the report of the United Nations Special Committee on last October's revolution in Hungary is certain to become one of the outstanding documents of all times.

Unfortunately, because of its extreme length—about 150,000 words—the report will not be read as widely by American workers as it should. It is my purpose therefore to discuss here some of its highlights which are of particular interest and importance to the working men and women of our own country.

First it should be emphasized that the report was the unanimous product of five men serving as representatives to the U.N. from small nations. Their job was a fact-finding assignment and it was carried out in the spirit of complete impartiality. That is what makes the findings of the report so devastating.

These findings can be summarized as follows:

1. The revolt was a spontaneous uprising by the Hungarian people. It started when Soviet troops and members of the secret police, known as the AVH, fired into a crowd of students and workers conducting a peaceful demonstration in front of the Radio Building in Budapest on October 23, 1956. No evidence was found of any conspiracy on the part of private groups or governments from the outside world to instigate or support the uprising. Thus, the Kremlin's basic contention that the revolution stemmed from an international anti-Communist plot is exposed as an outright lie.

2. The revolution was successful in overthrowing the Communist dictatorship in Hungary and had taken great strides toward instituting democratic reforms until Soviet Russia intervened with overpowering military force and crushed both the rebellion and the legal government set up by Premier Imre Nagy.

3. The present Kadar regime was imposed upon Hungary by Soviet invasion forces and has no support from any group in the population. It is feared and hated by workers, farmers and students alike.

4. Hungarian secret police under Russian control were guilty of "inhuman treatment and torture" on a wholesale basis and Soviet forces did engage in mass deportations of Hungarian men and women "to break the back of the revolution."

5. Systematic violation of basic human rights, as practiced by the Soviet puppet regime prior to the revolution, has again been ruthlessly invoked since November 4 when the uprising was put down.

ASIDE from these general findings, the report abounds with factual material of special interest and concern to labor.

It reveals that Soviet dictatorship failed, in ten years of oppressive occupation, to stamp out the Hungarian workers' yearning for free trade unionism. Immediately after the revolution started, the workers kicked out the puppet unions imposed upon them by the Hungarian Communist Party. The first free workers' council was elected in Budapest on October 24, the day after the uprising began. From then on they spread rapidly throughout the country.

The report points up the fact that the speedup instituted by the Communist regime and enforced by its so-called unions, under the guise of production "norms," or quotas, was the focal point of resentment among Hungarian workers.

One of the first acts of the new and democratically elected workers' councils was to abolish these production quotas.

On October 26 a national organization calling itself

Hungarian Free Trade Unions was established. It announced a new economic and political program. Its leadership was composed of "old trade union leaders who had been dismissed and imprisoned in the past" by the Communists and new leaders who had taken an active part in the revolution.

This free labor movement and its component workers' councils showed their responsibility the moment the revolutionary forces won control by organizing resumption of work in the factories and collecting available food supplies, especially for hospitals.

Wages and salaries were promptly increased to satisfy "the lawful material demands" of the workers and a beginning was made to improve and stabilize working conditions in the factories.

As evidence of its good faith and its complete break with communism, the Hungarian Free Trade Union movement announced withdrawal from the Moscow-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. Premier Nagy gave his official blessing to the newly developing labor movement and pledged his government would seek to ameliorate remaining grievances.

The United Nations Special Committee's report attests to the significance of the Hungarian workers' instinctive efforts to seek freedom and progress through free trade unions in these words:

"The overwhelming support given by Hungarians to these workers' councils confirms the impression that they were among the most important achievements of the Hungarian people during their few days of freedom."

The heroic role played by Hungarian workers and their free trade unions in the actual fighting is also underscored in the report of the U.N. commission. It says flatly that "the fighting became a struggle between the Hungarian factory workers and the Army of the Soviet Union." Factories became arsenals for the workers and battlegrounds against the Soviet forces.

Those of us who read in the newspapers how the Hungarian workers held fast to a general strike against the overpowering might of the enemy invaders, day after day, week after week, until starvation finally overcame them, can never forget their supreme courage and can never desert their cause.

Their cause is our cause, not only because of our natural sympathy for other human beings who are the victims of oppression, not only because of our special interest as free trade unionists in the fate of other free trade unionists, but because the terror visited last fall

upon the people of Hungary is now aimed at us here in America.

Let us heed this warning in Premier Nagy's last broadcast to the Hungarian people:

"I should like, in these last moments, to ask the leaders of the revolution, if they can, to leave the country. They should turn to all the peoples of the world and explain that today it is Hungary and tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow, it will be the turn of other countries, because the imperialism of Moscow does not know borders and is only trying to play for time."

This is the key point, and the U.N. commission's report put its finger on it in these words:

"A massive armed intervention by one power on the territory of another, with the avowed intention of interfering with the internal affairs of the country, must, by the Soviet's own definition of aggression, be a matter of international concern."

The question then arises: What is the U.N. going to do about a matter of such overriding international concern?

If the United Nations is to be an effective instrument of world peace, it cannot limit itself to the mere publication of a report and the issuance of findings. Timely and vigorous action must follow promptly.

The American delegate to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, announced that twenty-four nations have joined in a call for a meeting of the U.N. General Assembly "as soon as practical" to consider a course of action. Presumably, this means a special meeting before the General Assembly's next regularly scheduled session September 17.

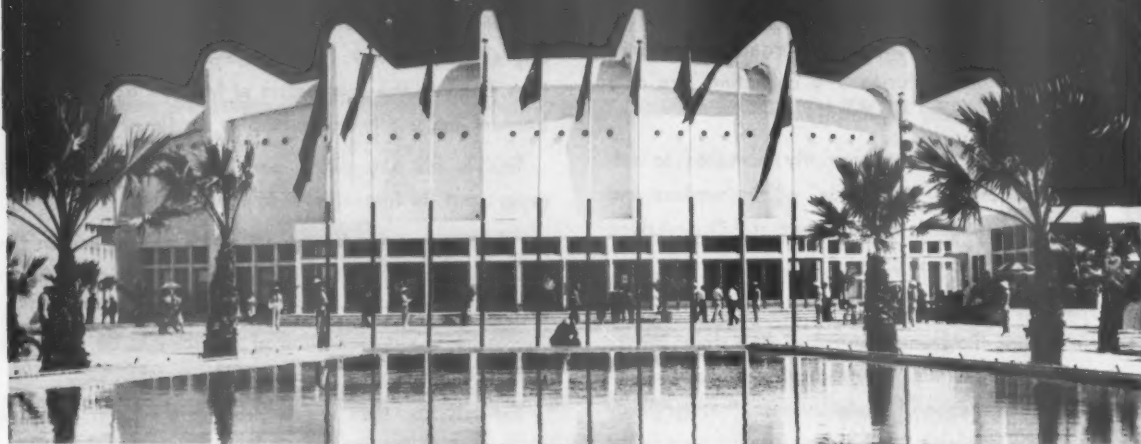
So far as the free trade union movement the world over is concerned, the sooner the meeting is held the better. We fervently hope such a meeting will result in action.

This case is clear-cut. Nothing short of a U.N. directive to Soviet Russia to get its troops out of Hungary and permit free and democratic elections under U.N. supervision so that the Hungarian people can choose their own government will satisfy the ends of justice.

Soviet Russia, not so long ago, voted for a similar directive against Great Britain, France and Israel, following their "invasion" of Egypt. They complied.

The Kremlin cannot refuse to obey a comparable United Nations ruling in the case of Hungary without standing exposed to the entire world as the arch-enemy of peace and human decency.

The ICFTU Meets in Tunis



The new Bourse du Travail in Tunisia's capital was the scene of free labor's fifth world congress.

By AL ZACK

TUNIS. THE uncompromising opposition of American labor to totalitarianism and all forms of oppression and exploitation was demonstrated clearly at the fifth world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, meeting in one of the world's newest free nations.

Each AFL-CIO delegate addressing the convention and participating in committee discussions reiterated unwavering determination to aid all workers in realizing freedom, decent living standards, security and brotherhood.

Arne Geijer of Sweden was elected president, succeeding Omer Becu of Belgium. J. H. Oldenbroek was re-elected as general secretary. The new president of the ICFTU is the head of Sweden's LO, or the Confederation of Trade Unions, and was formerly the president of the Swedish Metal Workers Union.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler presented to the congress a major six-point program to achieve the ICFTU goal of bread, peace and freedom.

Based on fighting communism and other forms of totalitarianism into

the ground, the program proposed the exploitation of political and economic weaknesses in the Soviet empire, elimination of social injustices and all forms of discrimination, eliminating colonialism and helping new countries to develop, building up enough military strength to quell aggression, eventual disarmament, and the cooperation of free peoples for common goals.

Mr. Schnitzler denounced the leaders of Soviet Russia and pointed out that in the Communist system colonialism has now taken on a "new and more vicious form." He emphasized the AFL-CIO's "uncompromising hostility to every form of totalitarian tyranny."

The delegates representing 55,000,000 trade unionists in ninety-three countries, at the closing session of the congress, unanimously approved a resolution warning that a disarmament agreement without an adequate system of international control and inspection would involve "the greatest dangers for the security of the free world."

Another resolution called for cease-fire negotiations between the French and the Algerian independence forces. There were no dissenting votes, but

the French delegates did not vote.

A major human rights speech by AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph was enthusiastically received by the congress. In a virtually unprecedented move, the congress unanimously and enthusiastically extended his speaking time.

Mr. Randolph said racial discrimination in the United States is "steadily, though slowly, fading." He hailed the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision as "momentous and monumental."

Thunderous applause greeted his plea that the congress "support the African workers' efforts to build free trade unions so that Africa will not be lured into the trap set by the Soviet Union, which stands against freedom for workers and dignity for the human personality, and would make slaves of all men, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin and ancestry."

AFL-CIO Vice-President James B. Carey told the congress that labor in the United States has been greatly strengthened by the recent merger. Unity means that new advances are possible legislatively and organizationally, Mr. Carey said. He also pointed out that the merger means



It was hot in Tunis. In shirtsleeves U.S. and Canadian delegates talked things over at a joint session.

new strength is available in the international arena.

Mr. Carey said that U.S. unions are engaged in a clean-up operation which will not be halted until the job is completed. He promised complete defeat of the forces of corruption through the same democratic process by which the Communists were driven out of the American labor movement.

Irving Brown, AFL-CIO representative in Europe, urged the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to redouble its efforts on behalf of Algeria before the United Nations. Emphasizing the need for an early solution, he recommended that all ICFTU affiliates put pressure on their governments to back the Algerian cause.

A blistering attack on Soviet Russia's "savage suppression of the Hungarian democratic revolution" was unanimously voted by the delegates after they had heard a moving and inspiring report by Miss Anna Kethley, who was a member of the short-lived government of Imre Nagy.

A hushed congress listened intently as Miss Kethley, in quiet, almost desperate tones, described the intolerable conditions imposed by the Soviet slave world which led to the October revolution in Hungary. She spoke warmly of the AFL-CIO's support of the cause of freedom in her country and praised Austrian labor's hospitality to the Hungarian refugees.

American labor's six-point program, which Mr. Schnitzler described

as "a positive composite program non-military in character and designed to supplement the military strength of democratic, peaceful nations," included:

1. Improvement and strengthening of our social fabric by eliminating economic and social injustices, and racial and other discriminations.
2. Extending the area of freedom by eliminating colonialism and giving generous economic and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.
3. Exploitation of the political and economic weaknesses in the Soviet empire.
4. Adequate military strength to deter and, if need be, to defeat any aggressor.

Sessions of the congress were held in this chamber. The delegates represented 55,000,000 workers.





Tunisian Premier Habib Bourguiba (left) welcomed the congress and spoke up for freedom and self-determination. Chaffing with him are AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler (right) and Irving Brown.

5. Continuous and expanding co-operation of free peoples for preserving peace and freedom.

6. Efforts to secure even limited disarmament, with a view toward furthering disarmament, coupled with an effective international inspection system.

The AFL-CIO delegation arrived in Tunis on a symbolic day—symbolic not only of the primary issue before the fifth world congress of the ICFTU but as well of the unquenchable desire which is today changing the African continent.

It was the Fourth of July—America's Independence Day.

Only a few hours after landing in Tunisia, Mr. Schnitzler led the delegation to the residence of the American ambassador, G. Lewis Jones. The ambassador, in keeping with the custom in U.S. embassies throughout the world, was holding a Fourth of July party celebrating America's own fight for freedom.

Among the other honored guests were Premier Habib Bourguiba, the dynamic leader of the Tunisian people and a staunch friend of the U.S. Premier Bourguiba greeted Mr. Schnitzler and the American delegation warmly, recalling with delight his visit with the leaders of the AFL-CIO a few months ago.

That celebration of America's independence launched the eight-day conference which devoted a major share of its attention to the problems of freedom for all people seeking escape from the yoke of oppression.

Mr. Schnitzler paid tribute to newly independent Tunisia in his speech at the opening session.

"Throughout its struggle for national independence," he said, "Tunisia had an outlook which extended far beyond its own limited territory and the bounds of the Arab world. The democratic aspirations of the new Tunisia and its inspiring leadership are a pivotal rampart of human freedom now gravely imperiled by Soviet imperialism with its new and savage colonialism masquerading as a liberator of colonial peoples and as a movement of profound social reform."

"The democratic forces in the Arab world can only draw inspiration and strength from young Tunisia's firm devotion to genuine social reform. It has shunned narrow nationalism and religious bigotry. Free trade unionists and other liberty-loving people everywhere can only view with the greatest satisfaction the fact that there is nothing fanatical or jingoistic in the Tunisian government's extensive development program."

Mr. Schnitzler said that the people who prize liberty, equality and fraternity should welcome the solidarity between Tunisia and the Algerians, "now in the decisive stage of their heroic struggle."

"There can be no better guarantee for North Africa becoming a fortress of freedom and social progress than close cooperation between the free and independent peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Algeria," he declared.

He noted the rising pressure of French democratic forces to have their government pursue toward Algeria "the same enlightened and

The AFL-CIO Delegation

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, headed the delegation. He was accompanied by the following Executive Council members:

JAMES B. CAREY, president, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

WILLIAM C. DOHERTY, president, National Association of Letter Carriers.

O. A. KNIGHT, president, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

EMIL RIEVE, chairman of the board, Textile Workers Union of America.

JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE, president, Retail Clerks International Association.

RICHARD WALSH, president, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

Other AFL-CIO Delegates

IRVING BROWN, ELMER COPE, JAY LOVESTONE, VICTOR REUTHER, SERAFINO ROMUALDI, MICHAEL ROSS, STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG and PAT SOMERSET.

liberal policy" it had applied to Tunisia and Morocco. He expressed confidence that the French people will play a decisive role in promoting "independence, liberty, equality and fraternity, and social and economic progress" in North Africa.

SAK, the Trade Union Confederation of plucky Finland, was accepted as a member. Its delegates were seated amid vigorous applause.



AFL-CIO Vice-President Carey said labor in America has been greatly strengthened by merger.

When Women Work

By NANCY PRATT

ANNA G., who works in a hotel in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, will probably never have her life story written up in *Vogue* magazine. But she is far more typical of the average woman worker than the Fifth Avenue fashion model.

Anna G. went to work when her husband came down with miner's asthma and had to quit his job. Her wage is 68 cents an hour. On that she has to support three children and a sick husband. Asked how she manages on such low pay, she replies:

"You go into debt."

Fresh milk has vanished from the table. Surplus foods have become a major staple of the family diet. A coal-burning kitchen stove serves for cooking as well as heating. The family has to get along without gas and without a telephone.

Anna G. is an industrious, intelligent woman. When asked why she doesn't seek higher-paying factory work, she says:

"I'm 54. The factories can get all the young girls they want. They won't even look at me."

Anna G., who asked that her real name not be printed for fear of losing her job, was interviewed by an AFL-CIO research team visiting workers to see how families got along on wages of less than \$1 an hour. The majority of such workers are women. Low wages are the rule in "women-employing" industries such as hotels, retail trades and laundries.

If Anna G. had been better trained or didn't have to buck employment barriers, she could provide her family with a decent living standard.

Throughout industry there is a concentration of women in the lower-paying occupations. Even in fields where women compose a majority of workers, as in clerical work, the occupations with the best pay and the highest skill, such as bookkeepers, statistical machine operators and technical

stenographers, employ more men proportionately than women. Women teachers are concentrated in the lower-paying elementary school jobs, men in the more lucrative secondary school and supervisory positions. In manufacturing as a whole, the median straight time hourly earnings in 1954 were \$1.28 for women as compared to \$1.80 for men.

Why do women workers drift toward the bottom of the economic ladder? The answer lies partly in the fact that so many women are part-time workers. But this picture is changing.

At the turn of the century women workers were, by and large, temporary workers. In 1890 almost three-fourths of all women in offices and factories were single and more than half were under 25. Most women stopped working when they married and never returned to paid employment.

TODAY about a third of the women in the labor force are married and the average age of employed women is 39. Increasingly, women are remaining in the labor force for most of their adult lives. Paid employment is far more than just a stopgap until marriage.

The widowed or separated woman is often the only wage-earner in a family. In 1953 a woman was the head of the household in nearly 4,000,000 families, or one-tenth of all the families in the United States.

Most employers, educators and even women themselves treat women workers as if they would be working only a few years. Unlike boys, girls are not brought up to think of themselves as prospective wage-earners. Consequently, girls have less interest in preparing themselves for jobs.

Studies of post-high school plans among students of equal ability have found that girls show less interest



NANCY PRATT

than boys in continuing their education. Nor do girls receive the vocational guidance and scholarship opportunities their brothers enjoy.

If this nation is to make maximum use of its manpower resources, public and private employment policies must face up to the fact that women workers are no longer just fill-ins. Increasingly, they are a permanent part of the labor force.

Although the chances are that today's teen-age girl will spend about twenty-five years in paid employment, her service will not necessarily be continuous. Typically she will start work after high school and continue to work through marriage until she has a child. When her child is born, she may leave the labor force to rear the family, but return to paid employment after the children have grown up. Or she may work while her children are growing up.

Through their paychecks, women help maintain the strong demand for new products that keeps the American economy on the upswing. Putting more money in women's paychecks will increase this demand. And channeling the talents of women workers into better jobs will increase the nation's productivity. But this calls for

a shift in many traditional policies and attitudes.

Last year the National Manpower Council, a non-profit research and policy group established at Columbia University to look into significant manpower problems, chose "woman-power" for its third field of study. After many interviews with public and private groups concerned with women's employment and many hours of fact-finding, the Council drew up a number of recommendations.

Among the group making the recommendations were A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, and Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

One set of recommendations emphasizes the need for improved vocational guidance, scholarship and other educational programs to help young girls realize what a significant place paid employment will have in their lives and provide them with the necessary skills to earn a decent living.

Another set of recommendations deals with discrimination against women workers. It calls on employers to take a second look at their hiring and other employment practices in light of the changes which have taken place in the education, skill and composition of women in the labor force. It urges both employers and unions to implement the principle of equality of opportunity in employment and apply the principle of equal pay for equal work.

THE National Manpower Council emphasizes in its study that the working woman's dual responsibilities—as a mother and homemaker as well as a wage-earner—have a decided effect on her job expectations. As a working mother, job factors such as commuting distances, leave of absence allowances, shorter hours and maternity benefits will take on new significance for her. If she leaves the labor force for the child-bearing period and then returns, she will need guidance in finding work as an "older woman."

In many ways the extreme feminists have done women workers a disservice by insisting that women workers are exactly the same as men. The misnamed Equal Rights Amendment rests on this false assumption. The proposed Equal Rights Amendment would wipe out protective labor legislation for women and forego child



For today's woman, the record shows, employment is far more than just a stopgap until marriage.

support, alimony and earlier retirement privileges just to insure that women will be treated exactly the same as men.

An intelligent approach to women workers takes into account differences between men and women workers. On the other hand, these social differences in employment patterns should not be used to rationalize wage discrimination where women are doing the same jobs as men. To the extent that such discrimination continues, women will not make a maximum contribution to the economy.

The fight for equal pay for women workers goes back to the early days of trade unionism. In 1881 the first convention of the AFL adopted the principle of no discrimination against any worker, male or female. Labor unions were quick to recognize that any attempt by employers to discriminate against women created a competitive struggle that bid down men's as well as women's rates.

Many years ago the International Typographical Union made equal pay for women compositors mandatory under the ITU's constitution. Any local which failed to amend its wage scale to conform with the international requirement was subject to fine and eventually suspension.

Other unions also have impressive records.

Before union organization in the meat-packing industry, differentials between men and women ran as high as 10½ cents an hour. By 1958, after more than ten years of collective bargaining efforts on the part of the Meat Cutters and the Packinghouse Workers, these differentials will be

eliminated. Contracts signed in 1956 by these unions covering the major meat-packing companies call for gradual reduction of the present 3½-cent differential in three steps, with the final accomplishment of equal pay by September of next year.

As a result of continuing protests against gross inequalities in men's and women's job rates at the Nela Park Lamp Center of General Electric in Cleveland, the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers has been successful in getting a number of increases to bring the wages of women workers in line with male rates. But in spite of recent increases, skilled women lamp workers still earn less than male common laborers.

For over ten years the United Auto Workers have maintained a special women's division to service the union's 175,000 women members. In addition to conducting education and organizational campaigns for women, the four full-time staff workers of the women's division act as consultants for local unions in grievance and negotiation problems affecting women members.

The problem is that achievements for organized workers don't rub off automatically on unorganized plants and industries. Further, many unions simply don't have the bargaining strength to force an employer, overnight, to remove inequities. In view of this, organized labor has worked actively to enact legislation to make equal pay a national policy.

Today sixteen states and Alaska have laws making it illegal to pay women less than men for comparable

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work. In states with aggressive labor administrators such as Massachusetts and Connecticut, these laws have proved effective. But in many states the laws simply lie on the statute books. As is typical with state legislation, the states with the poorest standards are those which have no legislation at all.

As far back as World War I, the federal government recognized the equal pay principle in fixing job rates. The principle of equal pay for federal government employees was written into the 1923 Classification Act.

In World War II the most significant gains were made. National attention was focused on the problem of manpower. Coming out of a depression period when there were too many people for too few jobs, the nation suddenly found its war production bottlenecked for lack of manpower. Women broke the bottleneck. Between 1940 and 1945 the number of women in the labor force jumped about 6,000,000. Since most single women were already at work, new workers were largely married women and mothers.

FROM the war experience, employers learned that women could qualify for all kinds of work formerly considered "men's jobs." Employers also learned that by changing a job in some inconsequential way, they could tack on a new title and hire a woman at a lower rate than a man.

The first federal equal pay bill was introduced in Congress in the last year of the war. Bills to make equal pay a national labor standard have been introduced in each Congress since then.

Trade unions, women's organizations and deans of prominent women's colleges have come out solidly in favor of a national equal pay bill. Employer organizations, while bowing to the principle of equal pay, have opposed any law with teeth in it.

Some employers are undoubtedly sincere in fearing that a national law might upset intra-plant wage relationships. The AFL-CIO has given serious study to the problems of administering an equal pay bill so that inequities can be resolved without endangering collective bargaining. In light of these considerations, the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1956 endorsed the principles of the Green-

Rogers equal pay bill with a proposed amendment to provide for more effective and flexible administration of the act.

Under AFL-CIO proposals, reliance is chiefly on administrative enforcement through the Secretary of Labor rather than through direct judicial action. In this manner, employees and employers would be assured of a hearing by qualified authorities.

The Secretary of Labor would first make every effort to adjust controversies between employers and employees. If the Secretary of Labor is not successful in effecting an adjustment, hearings would be held. Based on evidence submitted in the hearings, the Secretary could order the case dismissed or direct the employer to pay the employee the amount of wages he has been deprived of, plus damages. The courts could review the Secretary's findings.

This type of procedure has been included in three equal pay bills now before Congress, one introduced by Senator Wayne Morse and the other two introduced by Congresswoman Griffiths of Michigan and Congressman Roosevelt of California.

The Eisenhower Administration has also introduced an equal pay bill in this Congress. While nodding to the principles of equal pay, the Administration bill restricts coverage and lacks the vital penalty and enforcement provisions contained in the bills supported by organized labor.

Equal pay for women is a right, not a bonus to be bargained off in lieu of other benefits. Private agreements between labor and management must be supplemented by federal legislation

to make such economic discrimination against women illegal.

Unions and other groups working for an equal pay bill are well aware that legislation alone will not solve all types of wage inequities. Throughout manufacturing industries, it is still common practice to define classifications and even entire assembly operations as "men's jobs" or "women's jobs."

The so-called women's classifications pay less than the men's.

Over the years there has been a shift in these classifications. As jobs have become more mechanized and require less heavy work, employers have hired more women at lower rates. Some types of machine work have remained men's jobs. But in the "women's department," similar skills will pay less than in the "men's department."

These distinctions are more often based on social tradition rather than physical aptitudes. For example, on the West Coast, fish-packing has traditionally been a "man's job." But in California's Salinas Valley, fruit-packing is considered a "woman's job."

True equality in employment means an integrated plant with equal opportunity for job promotion and transfer to any job for which an individual is trained. Starting rates should be the same for all inexperienced employees and wage progression should be applied without regard to sex. When layoffs occur, a woman with high seniority in one department should have the right to bump a man with less seniority in so-called men's operations, if (Continued on Page 25)



Women who work have a good reason. They need the money.

Secretary Humphrey Charges...

IN A STATEMENT to the Senate Finance Committee, Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey pooh-pooed the effect of higher interest rates on housing construction. He admitted that there has been a decline in housing starts, but he insisted that the part played by the rise in interest rates "has been grossly exaggerated."

Mr. Humphrey then leveled unwarranted charges against building labor. He pointed his finger at wage increases in the building industry and made a reference to "restrictive practices." According to Mr. Humphrey, construction workers—not higher interest rates—are to blame for the decline in housing activity.

In the article which begins below, Secretary Humphrey is answered by AFL-CIO Vice-President Harry C. Bates, Housing Committee chairman.



U.S. needs millions of new homes, but housing construction has dipped sharply. Everyone knows interest rates are up, building activity down. 'No connection,' says Mr. Humphrey.

Harry Bates Answers:

Mr. Humphrey Is Wrong

*This article is by Harry C. Bates,
chairman, AFL-CIO Housing Committee*

TESTIFYING before the Senate Finance Committee, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey has asserted:

"The effect of higher interest rates in relation to the decline in private non-farm housing starts from 465,000 units in the first five months of last year to 384,000 for the same period this year has been grossly exaggerated."

Since he could hardly deny that housing starts are down, Secretary Humphrey looked for a scapegoat to blame for the low level of housing construction. Trying desperately to

find someone on whom he could shift the blame, Mr. Humphrey places the blame for the decline in home building on workers in the building and construction trades.

Here is what Mr. Humphrey said: "Housing is perhaps the most dramatic example of the effect of rising costs. Hourly wage rates in building construction have risen 21 per cent in the past four years. In the manufacture of some products the increased cost due to hourly labor rates has been offset by greater efficiency. * * *

"However, in those fields in which

mechanization is not practicable, or in which restrictive practices or legal requirements have prohibited maximum efficiency, the cost of the finished product has risen in close relation to the increase in hourly labor rates. There is no better example of this than housing."

Mr. Humphrey is simply talking through his hat when he levels such unfounded accusations against construction workers. To be sure, it is in the very nature of home construction, which results in a largely custom-built product, that productivity cannot keep pace with highly mech-

anized mass-production industries, but so-called "restrictionism" in the building trades has been grossly exaggerated.

After an exhaustive survey of productivity in the building trades, Professors William Haber and Harold M. Levinson of the University of Michigan concluded that "any generalization that the building trades unions are committed to a broad program of restrictionism is not borne out by the evidence."

In fact, elimination of all restrictions, some of which Haber and Levinson felt to be quite valid, would reduce total construction cost by a mere 1½ per cent.

This is obviously an extremely small item compared with the near doubling of sales prices of new houses since 1946 which Secretary Humphrey himself cites.

No, Mr. Humphrey, the workers in the building trades are not responsible for the increase in housing costs. Of course, wages in the building trades have risen. But in the postwar period, that is, since 1946, average hourly earnings of workers in contract construction have just about kept pace with the wage rise of manufacturing workers and the increase of wholesale prices of building materials.

Now, let's get back to interest rates. It is important to bear in mind that the bank which makes the mortgage loan is interested in its gross return. The gross return on a particular mortgage loan will be determined by two factors: (1) the amount of the loan and (2) the level of interest rate.

To see how this works, I am going to cite the same figures as Mr. Humphrey used in his testimony. He says that a house selling for \$10,000 in 1946 would be priced at \$19,000 in today's market.* He assumes a 15 per cent down payment and a 20-year period for repayment of the balance in each case. This means that the 1946 home buyer made a down payment of \$1500 and obtained a mortgage loan of \$8,500. Today's purchaser, assuming the same 15 per cent down payment, puts up \$2850 in cash and assumes a \$16,150 mortgage.

Since 1946 the FHA interest rate has jumped from 4 per cent (plus ½ per cent paid by the home buyer to



HARRY C. BATES

the FHA as an insurance premium to 5 per cent (plus ½ per cent to the FHA). Let us see how the increased interest rate has affected the total interest payments over the twenty-year repayment period of the home buyer to the lending institution which holds his mortgage:

Year	Mortgage Amount	Interest Rate	Total Interest Pymts.
'46	\$8500	4%	\$3862
'57	16,150	4% (assumed)	7339
'57	16,150	5% (actual)	9432

This means that even if the interest rate had remained at 4 per cent, the bank would have received a gross return of \$3477 more on the same house in 1957 as in 1946. But because the interest rate went up from 4 to 5 per cent, its actual gross return went up an additional \$2093 for a total increase of \$5570.

All of this comes out of the home buyer's pocket. Yet, even without the extra \$2000, the bank would have received twice as much in 1957 as it did in 1946 simply because of the increase in the price. The extra \$2000 resulting from the rise in the interest rate is pure gravy. It means that the bank's return increased by 144 per cent between 1946 and 1957, while average hourly earnings of construction workers rose only 89 per cent.

Just who is responsible for the

* Since the Boeckh index of residential construction cost, the generally accepted measure, increased only about 70 per cent during this period, Mr. Humphrey's estimate of \$19,000 for 1957 would seem to be somewhat high.

high cost of housing, Mr. Humphrey?

By the way, I find it interesting that Mr. Humphrey has chosen for his illustration a house that sells for \$19,000 in 1957. Perhaps Mr. Humphrey thinks a \$19,000 house is a lower-price house. He may not realize that 90 per cent of American families cannot afford a \$19,000 house.

It seems quite likely, however, that this is of no concern to Mr. Humphrey. In his view, housing activity in May, 1957, at an annual rate of 990,000 starts (it averaged only 942,000 in the first five months of 1957) "is still a substantial volume of housing."

If words mean anything at all, it is hard to see an annual rate of less than 1,000,000 housing starts as "substantial." Way back in 1925, when the population of the United States was only 116,000,000 we had 937,000 starts for a rate of 111.3 per 10,000 non-farm population. Today we have a population of 171,000,000. An annual rate of 990,000 starts represents today a rate of only 68.2 per 10,000 non-farm population. This is only about three-fifths of the 1925 rate.

We have been comparing the current rate of housing construction which Mr. Humphrey calls "substantial" with housing activity more than thirty years ago. Now, let us see how current housing construction stacks up against current housing requirements. To meet minimum housing needs, at least 2,000,000 new homes should be built each year. This means that the current rate of housing construction is less than one-half of what is needed.

The trouble with people like Mr. Humphrey is that they have forgotten that houses are not built to provide high profits to speculative home builders or excessive interest payments to bankers. Homes are built for people to live in. They are the foundation of American life.

The shopworn economic theories of Mr. Humphrey and of this Administration won't provide the houses America needs. Imposition of a high-interest, tight-money policy has sunk housing construction to the lowest level in eight years.

It is high time for the Administration to stop theorizing, stop looking for scapegoats and face up to the housing needs of the American people.

FROM MERGER,

Forward!

By PAUL L. PHILLIPS

President, United Papermakers and Paperworkers

"THE union we want is that merged union."

From Maine to California, from Florida to Oregon, workers in the paper industry are voting for "that merged union." During the first three months of merger, there were fourteen NLRB elections and fourteen victories, bringing close to 5,000 new members under the banner of the AFL-CIO.

Everyone realizes the pace is too hot to maintain forever, but all agree it is a welcome change from the past when we had two unions, and both were losing elections because each was trying to destroy the other. It is clear that unity and cooperation accomplish more than can be accomplished by cannibalism.

This is only one of many changes. The merger of two international unions, each with a tradition of militant progress and avid rivalry, is in itself a drastic change. Its objective was to obtain a vehicle for progress which would be better than its predecessor organizations could provide had they continued their own separate ways.

With the counsel and assistance of AFL-CIO Secretary William Schnitzer at meetings of the two rival groups, merger has been accomplished and, in spite of many problems as yet unresolved, the members of the new combined organization go forward with confidence they are better equipped to do a good job for the workers in this industry.

Although not compulsory, merger was in a way forced upon us by logic and reason and common sense.



PAUL L. PHILLIPS

Our first guidepost was the merger of AFL-CIO. We accepted the objectives enunciated in the constitution of the new united labor movement as a moral injunction to be conscientiously pursued by trade unionists of good will within the same industrial jurisdiction.

The corporate struggle for control of production and markets, a ceaseless contest within the pulp and paper industry, was an added incentive. During the previous five years we had witnessed a rash of company mergers and a concentration of capital power unprecedented in the history of our industry. Both unions were made increasingly aware that workers in the pulp and paper industry would require vastly enhanced collective bargaining power if they could hope to balance management's merged strength.

Many felt that the concept of unity

was too remote from the membership to produce any immediate reaction in the field. Others believed today's paper industry worker was fully matured in terms of trade union program and sufficiently alert to the developing economics of his industry that the benefits of merger would rapidly be apparent to him.

Viewing the experience of our organization since merger, it is evident that the optimism was justified. Today our union has responded to new organizational opportunities which would doubtless never have been available to its predecessors.

In spite of vigorous employer opposition, the shackles of anti-labor laws and the current drive in Washington to smear all unions, the united organization already has a record never before matched during any six-month period by either or both of the old rivals.

Our union is now in the midst of negotiations with some of the major corporations of our industry. Others are in preparation. We have observed the response of management to the new strength they face across the bargaining table. The companies are finding it more difficult to play off one group against the other. They must now deal with greater union solidarity than ever before.

And the challenge paper workers face on the bargaining front is as great as that confronting any industrial group in our economy.

Ours is an industry in which machine investment per man has always been considerable. It is a large industry, ranking fifth in the U.S., first

in Canada. It is America's third fastest growing industry. Probably it leads the pack in the corporate urge to merge.

At present we are witnessing a debate among the spokesmen of the leading companies as to whether the recent wave of expansion has out-distanced the ability of the market to consume. Regardless of which side proves right, it is clearly in the cards that the statisticians of 1980 will look back upon a sharp upswing in paper industry productivity per man-hour dating from the mid-1950s.

Whether it goes by the name of automation or whatever the technicians prefer to call it, we know the pushbutton era is upon us because we have already felt it. Particularly among the larger corporations—those that can afford the substantial investment—machinery has been eliminating jobs, crews and even departments while producing tonnage output never believed possible a generation ago.

Thankfully, the demand of an expanding economy has been sufficient to forestall the ruthless kind of competition which would eliminate all the less mechanized mills and plants—but there have been ominous straws in the wind. The jungle law of industry has already forced some marginal mills to shut their gates and many converting plants to close shop.

Such a situation can catch a union between the proverbial rock and hard place. On the one hand we cannot permit employers to use collective bargaining as a vehicle for subsidizing with lower wages the blunders and inefficiency of management. At the same time we recognize the self-strangling course of permitting our segment of industry to inflict diminished consumption upon the economy through a contraction of employment.

We realize that the seeds of depression are planted in the fetid grounds of under-consumption. To what avail will be the super-speed machines when there is no market for the containers, bags, roofing, insulation, periodicals and the countless other consumer items which are the products of our industry?

It is elementary, therefore, that we enlarge the consumer capacity of workers in our industry. At the same time we recognize that pulp and paper is no island in our integrated industrial civilization.

The primary catalyst for expanding consumption is the trade union movement. We consider it not only enlightened self-interest but also essential that our organization contribute to the building of the entire labor movement.

As we told AFL-CIO Organization Director Jack Livingston when he visited our merger convention, the United Papermakers and Paperworkers will do all within its power to render assistance to his department and to the unions in other industries. We believe we can be particularly helpful in the South, where the primary pulp and paper industry is almost completely organized, where our local unions are militant—and where all industry is growing at a tremendous rate.

In Canada and on the Pacific Coast—other areas of rapid industrial growth where UPP is firmly established—our union also stands ready to assist in this vital undertaking.

WE ALSO have a tremendous stake in the field of legislation, and not merely as union members, or consumers, or taxpayers. Our industry's prosperity depends upon an enlightened and progressive national program of natural resource conservation and development.

Everyone knows that abundant wood and water are essential to paper industry operations. Less known to the public is the fact that electric power consumption per ton ranks pulp and paper among the very top industrial users.

While the legislative challenge we face is great, there is tremendous potential which workers in this industry possess in the field of political action.

Located largely in rural and forest areas, it is obvious that a great segment of workers in our industry can reach representatives whose constituencies are remote from the traditional urban industrial centers of labor political strength.

We can and we intend to do a better job of membership political education than has ever before been accomplished by paper industry unionists. The drain of inter-union rivalry has been substantially eliminated, and we can concentrate a measure of these savings in the important field of political education.

We expect to enlarge and expand our well-established programs of staff

and membership training, and thereby encourage a greater degree of rank-and-file participation in the everyday affairs of the union.

We are encouraged by the undertakings of the Industrial Union Department in pioneering inter-union programs for staff representatives of its affiliates. We look forward to this accelerating the establishment of a permanent AFL-CIO program in this field.

Those who are familiar with the mechanics of present-day industrial relations know that the old days of simple table-pounding—when solidarity of workers was inspired by night-stick-swinging Simon Legree bosses and the short rations of a depression-ridden home—are past.

Today we are often leagues of ticker tape away from the men who set labor policy for the corporations, whose offices are concentrated in three cities in Canada and four cities in the United States. We deal with their lieutenants, skilled in the new paternalism of "human relations."

On top of it all, we have the intricacies of Taft-Hartley in the U.S. and conciliation entanglements in Canada, as well as the complicated tasks of dealing with arbiters, pension and insurance technicians, industrial engineers, etc.

The staff man of today must not only have working knowledge in these fields; he must be able to impart sufficient understanding to local union leaders so that they can deal effectively with their management counterparts.

With all of these problems, we consider our merger only a necessary first step in providing the strength and resources with which to do a better job.

We have already gone on record against complacency and isolationism and have, by convention action, served notice to all concerned that we intend to "keep open the door" for further organic unity of those who share our jurisdiction. Again, it

**HAVE YOU
REGISTERED
TO VOTE?**

should be emphasized, these are only initial steps, the first positive action for labor unity in the paper industry in fifty-one years.

We are proud of our progress, but we have a long way to go and we do not intend to be bogged down in the luxury of complacency.

We intend to march forward. We propose to provide the members of this union with the best collective bargaining tool ever available in our industry. It is our resolve that, through education and participation in the important affairs of our union, we will build up a local union leadership

throughout the U.S. and Canada second to none in the labor movement.

We have established in our constitutional structure two-way avenues of communication between the members and leaders of this union which will be used so that our union remains sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the men and women who make up the rank and file.

The fact that our service facilities are the best available to paper workers will not deter us from constantly improving our organization's staff and technical resources so essential for our future progress.

Finally, but by no means least, we intend to keep this union clean, in the high traditions set by its predecessor organizations—and we have by executive board action pledged full support to President George Meany in his efforts to raise the moral standards of the American labor movement to the point where it will be above reproach.

On the economic, political and social fronts we shall remain aggressive and militant, contributing our full share to the progress of free trade unionism in a democratic community.

Kohler Strikers Will Never Give Up

By ALLAN J. GRASKAMP

President, Local 833, United Auto Workers

FOR many years the law of the land has said that unions and employers must bargain collectively in good faith. Even the Taft-Hartley Act says that. Herbert V. Kohler has set himself above the law. The head of the Kohler Company has arrogantly shouted at us:

"I am the law around here."

Over three years ago the Kohler Company notified us that it was canceling its contract with our union. This was a weak contract which the union had accepted because we were in hopes that even Herbert V. Kohler would learn to live with organized labor. But it wasn't weak enough to suit Kohler. So the company canceled it.

We asked for an extension of the old contract to cover the period which we hoped would consist of further contract talks. The company said no.

The Kohler strike began April 5, 1954. It was caused by no one but the Kohler Company itself.

The company's first reaction was: "Bring on the scabs!" Before the picket lines were even formed, the company said: "These are not our people on strike. They are outsiders. They are foreigners."

The company said that to us, to its regular employees who had given Kohler more than 23,000 years of back-breaking labor. We had made Mr. Kohler fantastically rich, and now he

turned around and tried to picture us as outsiders and strangers. While Kohler's publicity machine was seeking to label us in this way, he was soliciting and propositioning people from far and wide to come and steal our jobs.

The company made demand after demand upon us. The first contract was not weak enough; Kohler wanted it weaker. When we cited competitors' working conditions, the company said:

"Kohler is different."

When we asked for arbitration within the contract, the company said:

"No! Kohler is different."

When we proposed submission of the contract dispute to arbitration within the framework of the Kohler Company's three main competitors' contracts, the company said:

"No, we can't do that. We're different."

The Kohler Company has always sought to rule through fear, dividing its employees, using greed and distrust to turn one man against the other. Kohler has seen to it that the rotten seeds of hatred have been thoroughly sown in the community. But by 1954 the Kohler formula was not enough—not enough by far.

By 1954 the Kohler workers had learned that the one thing that could defeat Kohlerism was solidarity.

Through the years of the strike, the company has taken an adamant position. Kohler has said:

"We will not give in on anything."

And Kohler has also made a deliberate attempt to get weak sisters in the community to say to us:

"The company is wrong, but it won't give in and it won't settle. So why don't you quit?"

We who are on strike will not quit—because justice has not yet been done. Until justice is achieved, we will continue our fight. Our picket line is stronger than ever before. Our picket line is marching in every state of the Union, with all AFL-CIO supporting our cause.

We will not negotiate ourselves out of existence, nor will we compromise the justice that is due. We cannot jeopardize the principles of sane and modern industrial relations, even if Mr. Kohler has a fixation about returning to the class warfare of the early Nineteen Thirties.

The Kohler strikers will fight on until the company comes to the bargaining table in compliance with the law of the land, willing to negotiate in good faith, and not intent on destroying the legitimate union of its own employees.

When Herbert Kohler ceases to violate the law and comes to the bargaining table in good faith, the strike can end.



President Meany explains terms of the agreement at a press conference in AFL-CIO Building.

Agreement Reached on Jurisdiction

AN agreement looking to elimination of jurisdictional disputes between building trades and industrial unions was announced last month by AFL-CIO President George Meany. The terms of the agreement were outlined in identical letters sent by Mr. Meany to Richard J. Gray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, and Albert Whitehouse, director of the Industrial Union Department.

The letters said:

On Friday, June 28, at a meeting of the special committee established by the AFL-CIO Executive Council to discuss problems involving the building trades and industrial unions, general agreement was reached along the following lines:

"There are two areas in which the jurisdictional lines between the building trades craft unions and the industrial unions are clear. New building construction, on the one hand, should be the work of the workers represented by the building trades craft unions; production and running maintenance work, on the other hand, should be the work of the workers represented by industrial unions.

"Between the two clear areas set forth above there is a doubtful area involving such work as alterations, major repairs and relocation of

existing facilities, changeovers, and other types of maintenance work. In these doubtful areas, decision should be made on the basis of established past practices on a plant, area or industry basis."

While no agreement has been reached, as yet, on a firm method of arbitration to settle disputes between the two groups, it was agreed by the committee that an effort should be made to set up some permanent machinery to resolve as many of these disputes as possible along the lines of the agreement which is outlined above.

The machinery agreed to was as follows:

The AFL-CIO will place on its staff three persons suggested by the Industrial Union Department and three persons suggested by the Building and Construction Trades Department. These six persons will be divided into three teams of two men—one from the Building Trades Department and one from the Industrial Union Department on each team.

These teams will work under the direction of the president of the AFL-CIO and will devote their full time to adjusting disputes between the craft organizations and the industrial organizations in keeping with the policy stated above. The thinking of the committee is that a great many of these problems can be solved by on-the-spot agreements reached by the representative teams.

It was further agreed that disputes that are not settled by the two-man teams will then be referred to a committee to consist of the president of the Building Trades Department, the director of the Industrial Union Department and one person representing the president of the AFL-CIO. In the event this three-man committee cannot settle the dispute, it will then be referred to the Special Committee established by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

While this procedure does not provide for a definite terminal point, the consensus is that it can be used to settle a great many of the disputes and bring about an atmosphere by which it may be possible, at some time in the future, if desired, to provide a definite terminal arbitration. For the time being, however, no final decision has been made on this point.

I would, therefore, request of you that you suggest the names of three experienced and competent persons who can do this type of work for the AFL-CIO. I would appreciate an early reply so that we can get this machinery into motion. Upon approval I will be glad to discuss with both groups the question of salary and expenses for those persons designated to serve.

Please be assured that in this new attempt to solve the very vexing problems which confront us in this area, the full cooperation of this office will be available at all times.

WHO TEACHES YOUR CHILDREN?

By **CARL J. MEGEL**

President, American Federation of Teachers

EVERY union member, whether he be in the professions, trades or occupations, is generally conscious that he would like his children to have a better education, including better teachers, than he did. But bluntly, realistically, except in some areas where labor has been successful in raising educational standards in terms of better teachers' pay, job security and fringe benefits, his children may not be getting the kind of schooling he thinks they are, while even a greater shortage of qualified teachers is anticipated when the public schools throughout the nation reopen after Labor Day.

When today's adult realizes that, while he studied for this mechanized age, his children must in the immediate future face the atomic age, conditions in our public schools become quite ominous.

The research department of the American Federation of Teachers recently undertook to examine teaching standards and teacher welfare in the approximately 1,345 school districts of more than 10,000 population in the United States.

The survey was conducted against the backdrop of knowledge that in these schools, as elsewhere, the crux of education is the teacher-pupil relationship. This presumes that the teacher is a competent, adequately trained teacher, and that all children are entitled to receive equal opportunities for learning.

There are yardsticks by which adequate teacher training and competency may be measured. To these can be added the value of teaching experience gained only from continuing years in the classrooms.



CARL J. MEGEL

Generally, in recent years, it has been presupposed that an elementary school teacher should have a bachelor's degree, obtained from a college of education in four years of successful study beyond high school. A master's degree, ordinarily requiring an additional year in college, is the proper prerequisite for qualification as a high school teacher. The doctorate, calling for two more years of college study and a thesis, is the supposed yardstick for a college teacher.

These teachers' qualifications may be safely accepted as to what every American child is entitled to and should have. But replies of 71 per cent (965) of the 1,345 school districts to American Federation of Teachers' questionnaires show that teachers with less than a bachelor's degree are currently being employed in 57 per cent of school districts (cities) having more than 100,000 population, 61 per cent of districts with 25,000 to 100,000 population

and 52 per cent of districts of from 10,000 to 25,000 population.

If this condition exists in the larger and wealthier urban areas, what is happening in the 58,655 smaller city and rural districts? An estimate that more than 300,000 of the 1,100,000 teachers in grade and high schools hold less than a college degree is conservative. A report of a new Harvard survey estimates that less than 70 per cent of grade school teachers are college graduates.

Such a collapse is obviously due to refusal of school boards to find ways of paying salaries sufficient to attract and hold properly qualified teachers. Teachers' unions and state superintendents of schools in California, Michigan and Georgia estimate that these states have as many degree teachers not teaching as there are teaching—because of better pay in business and industry. Similar situations exist in other states.

Instead of providing state-supported salary laws adequate to attract and keep qualified degree teachers, the legislatures of twenty-nine states have laid the groundwork for the educational short-changing of their children by authorizing lower state-supported salaries for non-degree teachers than for degree teachers.

THESE states are Alabama, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Additional states with

districts shown by the survey to be also employing teachers with only one to three years of college training include Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming.

Other states having no minimum salary laws for teachers include Arizona, Montana, Nevada and New Mexico. What school conditions are in the rural areas of these non-minimum states can only be imagined.

The employment of non-degree teachers is comparable to the licensing of medical or dental undergraduates to practice or to the employment of partially trained apprentices as full-fledged master craftsmen.

Salaries paid the non-degree teachers by school districts employing them are pitifully low, and in many areas are under and in violation of even the bargain-basement state schedules. Mississippi has a non-degree pay schedule of \$1600 to \$1800 in five steps for cities of over 10,000, but one Mississippi district reports starting such teachers as low as \$787 a year, another at \$831.

Starting salaries for non-degree teachers in most of the school districts employing them are less than \$2500 a year, with up to ten to twenty years required to reach a low maximum salary. Actual salaries paid in many areas are below the state-supported minimums.

ARKANSAS, Alabama, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee and Texas have laws authorizing the certification of teachers with one year or less of college training. In other areas the need for adequate certification standards is manifest in the absence of any kind of such law.

This trend in education under the label of emergency need is used as a club over qualified teachers to make them accept low salaries. Along with traditional inadequate pay of degree teachers, it creates a situation that should be looked into, if it exists, by central labor councils in their communities.

The employment of non-degree teachers is less prevalent and the standards as well as salaries of degree teachers are generally higher in cities where there are strong locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

But uniformly higher salaries, along with strong state tenure laws, are still the top prerequisites to an adequate teacher supply.

The American Federation of Teachers research statistics from the 970 school districts of over 10,000 population show the salaries of degree teachers less uniform over the country than are the incomes of any others of the employed professions.

Pay of beginning teachers with bachelor's degrees range from a national low of \$2000 in Fayetteville, Arkansas, which has no A. F. of T. local, to a new \$4902, the highest, in East Chicago, Indiana, where the East Chicago Teachers Federation, Local 511, is strongly backed by organized labor, and a new second highest \$4800 negotiated by the new Niles Township High School (Skokie, Illinois) Federation of Teachers, Local 1274.

Maximum B.A. pay varies from Fayetteville's \$2500 dead-end after five years of teaching to \$7900 a year in Long Beach, New York, after fifteen years.

Fayetteville also has the dubious distinction of starting teachers with master's degrees at \$2100, the lowest for high school teachers in the country, while Hempstead, New York, pays its beginners with master's degrees \$5300, the highest.

Maximums for masters range from \$2770 after eleven years in Camden, Arkansas, to \$8500 in Garden City and Great Neck, "silk stocking" New

York suburbs, after nineteen and twenty-four years. Anderson, South Carolina, offers Ph.D.'s \$3956 and Hempstead, New York, \$9400. The salaries for Ph.D.'s in all public grade and high school schedules are, however, mostly window-dressing, since few are actually employed.

Somewhere between these minimums and maximums are the great majority of the nation's qualified teachers, with regional pay averaging as follows: Bachelors—Northwestern area, \$3243 minimum to \$5179 maximum; North Central, \$3462 to \$5124; Southern, \$2874 to \$4103, and Western, \$3670 to \$5227. Masters' maximums for the same areas average: Northwestern, \$5412; North Central, \$6090; Southern, \$4436, and Western, \$5626.

IT SHOULD be kept in mind that these averages are for cities with 10,000 or over population and are before income tax. The goal of the American Federation of Teachers is a bachelor's starting salary of \$5000, reaching \$10,000 in eight or less annual steps, with a spread of \$500 for training above the bachelor's.

Highest salaries are paid in the so-called tenure states, where state tenure laws enable teachers to go under tenure after two or three years' probation and become subject to discharge only for formally proven cause.

Not too many tenure laws are worthy of the name, but the American Federation (Continued on Page 26)



Teacher-pupil relationship is the crux of education. There is a shortage of qualified teachers which is expected to be worse when schools reopen.

Politics and Labor in Italy

By HARRY GOLDBERG

*Representative in Italy,
Free Trade Union Committee, AFL-CIO*

ROME.
AS THIS article is being written, Italy has presumably surmounted, with the Zoli government, the longest political crisis in its postwar history. However, the situation remains confused and uncertain. That is nothing too unusual; even when a government doesn't actually fall, it is constantly teetering on the edge of disaster.

The basic instability of Italian politics—since the last national elections of June 7, 1953—derives from the relative weakness of the democratic center, as registered in this election, in comparison with the opposition forces on the left and on the right.

The so-called left opposition is composed of Togliatti's Communist Party of Italy (PCI) and the Socialist Party of Nenni (PSI) which, for ten years, has been a stooge of the Communists. The right opposition is composed of the neo-Fascist inheritors of Mussolini's questionable mantle, the Social Movement of Italy and the Monarchists, themselves split into warring wings, the Nationalist Monarchist Party and the Popular Monarchist Party.

Italy's center government which emerged from the 1953 elections was based upon a coalition of the largest party, the Christian Democratic, with the three smaller lay parties—Social Democratic, Liberal and Republican. These four parties together polled only a fraction over 50 per cent of the popular vote in the elections.

The so-called lefts—the Communist Party of Togliatti and the Socialist Party of Nenni—polled almost 36 per cent. The fascists and monarchists together got about 14 per cent. In an almost 600-member House of Deputies, the majority of the governmental center—when the four parties acted together, which hasn't been always—was 16. This serves to indicate the narrow edge upon which Italian governments since 1953 have



HARRY GOLDBERG

had to try to balance themselves and to explain the succession of crises and near-crises that have been the inevitable fate of every government since.

Add to this dour enough fact the strains within the four-party governmental coalition itself. The Christian Democratic Party is a vast conglomeration reflecting all points of view in the political spectrum, from those who sympathize with the Monarchists on the right to those who view Nenni as a potential savior of Italian democracy. It needed wisdom, flexibility and firmness to keep such a party united on a basic democratic program without casting any flirtatious glances to either left or right.

Such leadership was furnished by De Gasperi, a statesman of genuine international stature, whose loss was a grave one for Italian democracy. Since his death the crackling of the thin ice under the party has been heard more than once.

Another cause of constant friction inside the center coalition has been the character and program of the Liberal Party. The label "Liberal" is a misnomer—a mere verbal heritage from the past. Actually, the party

basically reflects the interests of the large industrialists and landowners. On important social issues, therefore, involving the interests of industrial workers or farm laborers (*braccianti*) and sharecroppers (*mezzadri*), the Liberty Party has come into conflict with the other two small lay parties, the Social Democratic and the Republican, as well as large sections of the Christian Democratic Party itself, not to mention the two anti-Communist trade union federations, CISL and UIL.

What stresses and strains these facts have imposed upon the center coalition can well be imagined. The threat from the left (especially) and right, and the need to keep a basically democratic setup going, tend to keep the four parties together. The differences on basic social issues tend to hurl them apart. What this has meant in behind-the-scenes politicking, in Machiavellian give and take, in compromises, in the continuous febrile efforts to keep the coalition going, lack of space precludes describing here. But the tough problems that Italian democracy faces must be clear from all the above.

ENTERS on the scene now—and he's been there for the last year confusing things all around—the purportedly enigmatic figure of Nenni. His Socialist Party, the PSI, has played the Commie game for the last ten years. In last year's administrative elections, Saragat's Social Democratic Party and Nenni's PSI each gained in the neighborhood of three-fourths of a million votes.

Under the impact of this, as well as of Khrushchev's famous downgrading of Stalin at the twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the brutal Soviet repression of the Hungarian people's revolution—both of which latter phenomena produced some rumbling inside

Nenni's PSI—there suddenly sprang up the idea of unification between the Social Democratic Party (PSDI) and the PSI. The idea and the actions attendant upon it have been confusing and plaguing Italian politics since. It has left its dead sea fruit and, in this writer's opinion, has hurt Italian democracy no end.

Let me say definitely that if Socialist unification could be achieved on an authentic, democratic basis, with Nenni and the PSI adopting the principles, supported by the Socialist International, of Atlanticism and NATO as the indispensable institution of defense against predatory Soviet imperialism, such a unification could serve a useful purpose.

It would mean at the least a definite break with the Communists, and any weakening of the still too strong Communist totalitarians of Italy can only be regarded as a distinct plus for Italian democracy. However, the record since the idea of Socialist unification was born in the bright brains of some top politicians in the Social Democratic Party has been the exact opposite.

THE political line of Nenni's PSI—in spite of some criticism against Russia and the Italian Communist Party induced by the Hungarian events—has remained an extreme left socialist one, which equates the United States and Soviet Russia in the pernicious two-bloc theory; denies the existence of aggressive intention to Communist imperialism; and still sees a superior society in the so-called "peoples' democracies" of Eastern Europe *vis-à-vis* the purported outmoded (and bourgeois) democracies of Western Europe and the United States.

Nenni's PSI has never lost its sense of inferiority to Communists and Russia, where "they made a revolution," in spite of the stark, brutal reality of Soviet Russia, a slave society infinitely worse than czarism, where freedom and liberty have been all but completely extinguished in the interests of building up a huge imperialist movement out to extend these "bountiful blessings" to the rest of the world.

That there are rumblings and encouraging movements inside the Eastern satellite countries and even within Russia itself—which testify

to the fact that the spirit of freedom in man can never be completely extinguished—is an issue of a different sort which cannot be treated here and now in this article.

But to get back to the main thread of our story. In addition to its political line, Nenni's PSI—even after the cynical murder of the Hungarian people by the Soviet Union—refused to break with Togliatti's Communist Party of Italy on the trade union field. More, it has proposed and continues to agitate for the reunification of all trade union forces—including the Communists—into one grand new union. This obviously is in direct line with the "people's front" tactic which the Communist movements of the world are pressing vigorously these days.

There are those who pin their hopes on Nenni who, they think, is sincere in his desire to break with the Communist Party. I do not share this illusion. I regard Nenni as a two-timing opportunist who has changed his political coat often during his political life and whose private dream is of being catapulted to power (as Prime Minister) behind a powerful, unified Socialist movement supported by the Communists, after the Christian Democratic Party has been divided and weakened. But whatever the real character of Nenni may or may not be, whoever is correct in his speculation as to that character, is really of minor importance in the entire situation.

The reality is—as has been clearly shown by all the deliberations during the last six months of the leading organs of the party—that the PSI is firmly in the grip of a pro-Communist apparatus which under no circumstances will break with the Communist Party. Even those who think of Nenni as sincere in his desire to break away admit that he is a prisoner of the pro-Communist apparatus and without any real power.

Why, under all these circumstances, there are people inside Italy's Social Democratic Party who continue to bow down before the abstract idol of Socialist unification passes all rational understanding, especially when one considers the damage that the whole campaign for

Socialist unity has already brought on Italian democracy.

Whatever other factors may have made their contribution, there isn't the slightest doubt that Socialist unification illusionism has created confusion and division within the democratic parties, especially the Social Democratic and Republican, and has helped directly to create the present governmental crisis, by bringing about the fall of the previous center coalition government of Segni.

The political issue of Socialist unification has also had its unfortunate reflex inside both democratic trade unions. The UIL, the smaller of the two anti-Communist trade union federations, which is politically close to the Social Democrats and Republicans, sailed under the banner of the "Socialist Unification Union" in the recent Fiat election for shop stewards, the most important single factory election in the country. It hoped by this political speculation re possible Socialist unification to emerge stronger, *i.e.*, as the trade union arm of a hoped-for new, strong, unified Socialist Party. The UIL has also come out against the recreation of the four-party center coalition.

The same is true of the Social Democrats inside CISL who also have illusions as to the salutary nature of Socialist unification. This attitude of Social Democrats in both democratic trade union organizations further muddled the political waters.

The resultant divisions inside and bickerings among the democratic parties, heightened even more by their present maneuvering for position in the face of the coming elections, has undoubtedly been a help to the Communist movement of Italy, which has been able to recoup a good deal of the ground it had lost right after the October events in Hungary, as local elections during the last few months have shown.

In fact, if the whole movement for Socialist unification were to be considered a conscious tactic on the part of the Communists, using the PSI as bait to divide and weaken the democratic forces—a theory, incidentally, which cannot be dismissed too cavalierly— (Continued on Page 29)



Removing Job Barriers

By CHARLES ABRAMS
Chairman, New York State Commission
Against Discrimination

TWELVE years ago the New York State Legislature passed—after heated public hearings and bitter legislative debate—a law against discrimination. This was the first law of its kind in the nation. It set up a State Commission Against Discrimination to conduct broad programs of public information and education and to adjudicate complaints. Since the passage of New York's law, fifteen states and numerous cities have enacted similar legislation and created similar commissions. Some of the more recently established commissions are now in advance of the New York agency in some of their procedures.

The original New York law of 1945 barred discrimination in places of employment because of race, color, creed or national origin. In 1952 public accommodations, resorts and amusements were added, and in 1955 and 1956 the jurisdiction of the State Commission Against Discrimination was expanded to include housing that is public or publicly assisted.

Although SCAD is empowered to act in three crucial areas of life—employment, housing and public accommodation—it can move only where a complaint has been filed. The commission cannot initiate complaints or undertake regulatory investigations on its own initiative. Governor Averell Harriman has been trying to rectify this weakness, but so far the Legislature has refused to take the necessary action.

Despite this shortcoming and its limited ability to undertake any creative research, in the past fifteen months the New York State Commission Against Discrimination has made substantial progress. In 1956 the commission received 562 complaints. This was a substantially larger number than it had handled in any pre-

vious year and was almost double the number received just three years ago.

In 1957 this trend is continuing. The number of proceedings in the first three months of 1957 was almost double the first quarter of 1956, and the number of individual complaints is now five times as great as in 1950. But more important than the number of cases processed has been the opening up of whole industries to provide job opportunities for members of minority groups who had previously been excluded from employment or from promotions.

Last fall eighteen airlines and the commission issued a history-making statement. The eighteen companies pledged that they would consider qualified Negroes for all positions, including flight capacities, on the same basis as other applicants. The airlines also agreed not to seek new employees from employment agencies, training schools or other sources which practice discrimination in the referral of job applicants. While the agreement was signed in New York State, its implications and application are nationwide.

Following this agreement, New York Airways hired Perry Young as a helicopter pilot. This was the first time in the nation's history that any passenger airline had hired a Negro in a flight crew capacity.

Public reaction to progress through industry-wide agreements was well expressed last December in an editorial in the *New York Times* which heralded an announcement of cooperation by eighteen railroads serving New York and New Jersey as "a signal service to American democracy." The eighteen railroads, the newspaper said, "have given public assurance that their employment policies—and practices—are now free

of all discrimination against Negroes, and that many Negroes are being employed, including some in supervisory positions."

In this industry a good part of the resistance has stemmed from discrimination within the ranks of labor itself. The national policy of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has cast a shadow upon the gains achieved by the great mass of labor in other fields. In states with laws against discrimination the BLE has waived the discriminatory provision, and this reemphasizes the place and influence of such laws in removing discriminatory barriers to employment. I hope that before long this union will eliminate the provision which stands as a blemish upon the broad shield of American labor.

WITH the cooperation of the License Commissioner of New York City, the State Commission Against Discrimination has set up machinery for ending discriminatory practices by the 1,000 employment agencies in the metropolis. Progress has been made in the communications industries, in the baking and brewing industries, in department stores and in insurance companies. A start has been made toward achieving the same result in hotel employment.

But we believe that the greatest good which the New York State Commission Against Discrimination can do lies outside the filing of complaints. It is in opening new doors to the members of minority groups through agreements worked out with key leaders—company presidents, personnel managers and others.

In June of last year a committee of representatives of major industries was appointed. It was agreed that this committee would help attain

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acceptance of non-discrimination in hiring and upgrading of labor, confer with personnel managers, employers, unions and city and state departments to foster the aims of the state's law against discrimination. A new program of educational meetings with personnel managers of large companies is being launched. The aim is to widen the areas of employment and advancement for the members of minorities.

Perhaps the most promising advance in the history of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination was achieved last October when a Labor Advisory Committee was set up. It is headed by Thomas A. Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, and Louis Hollander, president of the New York State CIO Council. Charles Zimmerman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. Zimmerman was recently named to the chairmanship of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee.

On January 14 the Labor Advisory Committee adopted a five-point program in which labor agreed to intervene directly in any case where a union in New York State has been charged with discriminatory practices. A series of conferences will be held with the aim of isolating causes of discrimination in unions and correcting questionable practices.

The active interest taken by all unions in New York State in the formation of this committee is an indication that labor is willing to acknowledge what it must do within its own ranks and is a demonstration of labor's maturity and sense of responsibility not only to its own membership but to society as a whole.

Our country has come a long way since the days when older settlers feared that their own status would be threatened by every newcomer. But "your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" are still with us. The homeless and tempest-tossed still look for "the lamp beside the golden door." The lamp must be held high, and it must light the way to a new era of equality for all men to work and advance.

The percentage of Negro unemployment is more than double the white. In the Northeast, Negro family income is only two-thirds of white income. As we come closer to indus-

trial automation, the Negro worker faces new and serious problems.

In past decades his battle has been to find a job at any level—and for most Negroes this meant the lowest unskilled level. Now the unskilled worker faces the new danger of increasing obsolescence, and if the rate of our progress is not sharply stepped up, we may well find ourselves running as fast as we can merely to stand still.

HERE are some of the crucial areas in which the tempo of progress in New York State must be greatly accelerated in the months ahead:

Upgrading. Negroes are being admitted to many areas of employment previously barred to them, but too often only at the lowest level of menial tasks. In many plants employing large numbers of Negroes, none holds a foreman's job or supervisory position of any kind. Other employers use the device of complying with the law's letter rather than its spirit by employing only "token" Negroes or other minorities.

Housing. This is the most critical problem and the most stubborn. Despite the increase in Negro population in New York City and in upstate communities, little or no new housing is open to Negroes in the cities or the suburbs. Too often a Negro has refused a good job or left one because decent housing was unavailable to him. Firms moving into new localities too often ignore the housing requirements of the people they need.

New employment areas. Although impressive gains have been made in widening employment opportunities, there are still pockets of stubborn resistance—especially in managerial positions and in those where employees meet the public.

Encouraging youth. Because of past discriminatory patterns, many young people within minority groups hesitate to train or apply for jobs they don't think they can get. Too often an employer who is sincere in his desire to hire more Negroes complains that he cannot find any who qualify for the job.

Apprenticeship training. Discrimination in this area has been a severely limiting factor. Governor Harriman recently signed a new law barring discrimination in apprenticeship programs. The new law gives promise of more rapid achievement in this

area, but we feel that much remains to be done before major progress will be seen.

Discrimination within labor. Most unions have excellent records not only in wiping out discrimination within the trade union movement itself but also in pressing for fair practices and equal opportunities in all areas of human endeavor. But where discrimination still exists within a union it is the most difficult to eradicate, and it presents disturbing aspects far beyond the moral issue. It enables employers to put the blame for continued discrimination on labor and blocks progress in civil rights, threatening the freedom of all labor.

On the whole, New York State's record here is a good one. But laws against discrimination cannot be administered one way for management and another way for labor. This is why we feel that the Labor Advisory Committee must try to raise the level of ethics in all unions and do this before the issues are raised at hearings resulting from complaints.

In administering the law against discrimination in New York State and in working to achieve further progress throughout our nation, we can well be guided by the statement made by Governor Harriman last October at the first meeting of the Labor Advisory Committee. On that occasion the Governor said:

"The bitter lesson of history is that civil rights and human rights are indivisible; that free labor and race discrimination are irreconcilable; that the quest for equality of opportunity is at the core of the struggle for freedom."



Let's Look at WORKERS' EDUCATION

By MARK STARR
Educational Director,
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

THE merger in 1955 of the AFL and the CIO pooled the facilities of both organizations, and the monthly organ of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, *News and Views*, reflects in a most encouraging fashion the new experiments, the current problems and the new printed and audio-visual aid materials in workers' education.

Now in regular meetings educational directors, previously separated, can meet and pool their resources to meet their common problems. And the AFL-CIO Education Committee has been enlarged to include staff members of the unions' educational departments.

However, as before, the main educational work within organized labor is done by the individual union and not by central associations as in Britain, Scandinavia and Germany. For the unions the great problem is to find effective methods to reach their large memberships, which cannot be covered by small study classes.

The biggest nationwide effort in workers' education, and one which has attracted most public and press attention during recent years, is the biennial educational conference run by the United Auto Workers. Every local of this large union is invited to send delegates to Washington, Chicago or some other big city which has hotel accommodations for a large-scale conference.

Outstanding public figures in industry and in politics are invited to come in and make a general presentation about matters of current importance. Immediately after the general talk, the delegates are divided into smaller groups, each with a discussion leader in charge. They thrash over the subject matter of the



MARK STARR

presentation and formulate comments and questions which are reported later to the general meeting.

This buzz session or caucus method to provide participation for individuals in a mass meeting is now widely used in union education.

Such an educational conference does not have the right to pass resolutions which directly determine the policy of the union, but the ideas developed in such meetings are likely to be expressed in subsequent official meetings, both on the local level and the national level.

This kind of educational conference gives the rank-and-file membership and the small locals a chance of participation in the formation of union policy. The officers of the union thus have a unique opportunity of knowing what is on the members' minds.

As a variant of this, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union at its triennial convention in 1956 devoted a session to the presentation by its educational directors of what was being done in various

projects to stimulate emulation. This was later summarized in "Operation: ILGWU Education."

There is an expanding cooperation between the unions and the universities as formally promoted by the Inter-University Labor Education Committee, of which Joseph Mire is executive secretary. Universities in the United States are much more accessible to workers than in the older countries. The tax-supported state universities now properly endeavor to serve the labor unions as they have previously provided facilities for management.

There are eighteen universities which offer year-round programs and about twenty colleges and universities which offer limited services. They range from Harvard to the University of California. Some institutions only publish pamphlets on wage incentives, grievance procedures, job evaluation and similar topics. An active Labor Advisory Committee is essential to real cooperation in the organization of such courses to prevent possible miseducation.

Most recently, the Auto Workers in Detroit have set up their Education Building. The University of Michigan, Wayne University and Michigan State University will supply faculty for twelve courses which can be taken by UAW members upon payment of a nominal registration fee.

The Inter-University Labor Education Committee received considerable grants from the Fund for Adult Education.

Details of past IULEC programs are given in "Universities and Unions in Workers' Education," by Jack Barbash (Harper, 1955), and in "Labor Education," by Joseph Mire (IULEC, 1956). Now there are

proposals on foot to set up a more permanent Institute of Labor Education which would receive grants from foundations and from trade unions. This idea is still in the planning stage.

In addition to running classes and institutes and issuing educational material, textbooks, films, etc., the Institute of Labor Education would supply the social studies departments of schools and colleges with lecturers and instructors either for single meetings or for courses in industrial and labor relations. A number of business schools in the various colleges make use freely of retired business leaders. The Institute of Labor Education proposal would make available the services of retired union leaders and other experienced labor activists.

Many of the smaller liberal arts colleges cannot afford special departments and professors in industrial relations. It is hoped that they will take advantage of such a service. Already foundations set up in memory of leaders of labor have provided lectureships and special courses for various universities. In some cases there will be difficulties because, while industrialists are accepted without question, the union leader or staff member has to meet the suspicion of being partisan.

Cooperation between universities and unions is also likely in the field of opinion surveys. For example, Wayne University was asked to undertake a survey into the attitudes of members of the Auto Workers in Detroit toward the participation of their leaders in politics.

University research staffs send out questionnaires and interview union members and publish the results. Sometimes the universities sample various workshop groups in an effort to find out why more workers do not attend union meetings. Some unions have secured the help of college surveys to learn the nature of the prejudices, etc., which determine the attitudes of their members. Of course, some of these surveys degenerate into technical gobbledegook, but in other cases union leaders are able to get valuable information about what the members are actually thinking. Such surveys can have great educational value.

Meanwhile, union education departments still find it difficult to run regular old-time study classes. Complacency results from full employment, and the mass media, notably television, offer powerful competition.

Institutes or one-day, weekend, five-day and ten-day schools continue to grow in popularity. These institutes or schools are usually held at colleges or universities because few unions have their own facilities, such as the Michigan CIO Council's FDR Labor Center on Lake Huron.

Once these labor schools were largely held to coincide with summer holidays, but now institutes are held throughout the year. Thousands of active union members participate.

SOME unions endeavor to develop a do-it-yourself movement by training some of their officers in instructional techniques. After an intensive course, such officers can return to conduct classes in their own local unions.

A number of unions, working in cooperation with various universities, set up special courses for their paid officers. In other unions interest is concentrated on the shop stewards because they are recognized as strategically influential.

One of the best of such plans is that of District 4 of the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. Two years ago District 4 ran special courses, with the cooperation of Rutgers and Cornell Universities, for 150 stewards and officers. Now District

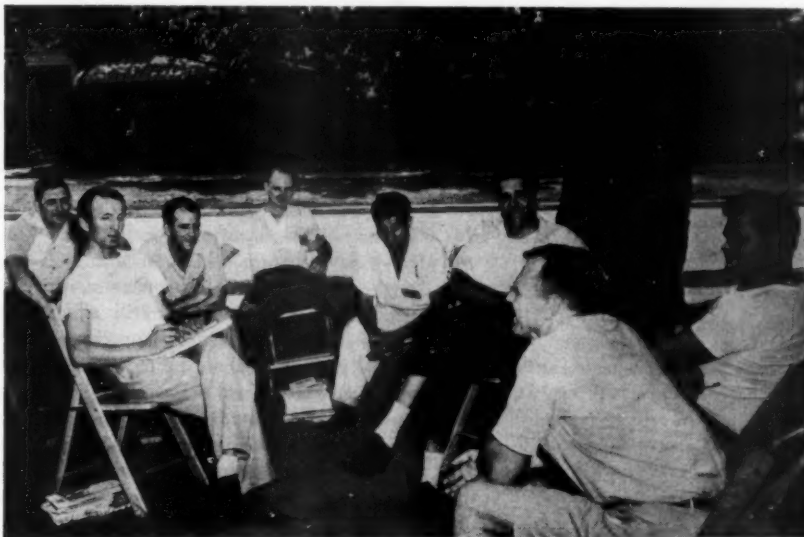
4 is running similar courses for fifty-seven New Jersey locals and forty-one New York locals. In five years District 4 hopes to have 500 members who have completed training.

The future will probably see a much bigger development of staff training by the unions. Each union has its own specific problems and methods. Training for union service ranges all the way from compulsory classes for new members—very important in local unions with a high turnover—to officers' qualification courses, refresher courses for staff members and the Training Institute of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in which, after a year of study and field practice, the student receives a full-time appointive office.

The Training Institute, now in its seventh year, was pioneered by ILGWU President David Dubinsky. It is now directed by Gus Tyler. It has received wide attention, including a detailed description in *News and Views*, the publication of the Department of Education, AFL-CIO.

The subject matter of labor's study classes and institutes has a close relationship to the campaigns to extend the minimum wage law to trades not yet covered, to increase the minimum wage, to amend the Taft-Hartley Act and to repeal state "right to scab" laws.

There is also a closer relationship with the community and welfare work as promoted by the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee. Unions



Workers' education takes a variety of forms. Sometimes it means a group of wage-earners discussing grievance machinery or international problems.



Labor schools are held in many states. Usually they combine learning with recreation.

cooperate by providing for the training of voluntary counselors who are skilled in meeting the out-of-shop problems of their members.

For example, much of the time of the twenty-six ILGWU educational directors is occupied in advising and helping members with personal and family matters, in helping them to deal with the threat of eviction or the problem of garnished wages resulting, in some cases, from installment purchases. Such counselors know the appropriate agencies to which the members can be referred. There may be problems about unemployment compensation or accident compensation with which members need help to secure their rights.

As the welfare funds in each union grow, the importance of such educational work will grow. Some unions, notably the Auto Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have already set up plans to serve the educational and recreational needs of their retired members.

Local 688 of the Teamsters in St. Louis has done an outstanding job in getting members of the union busy to achieve community improvement for better housing, education, etc. Symphony concerts provided by the United Steelworkers are another example of service to the community. In other areas local unions act jointly through their Community Service agency. In all this work there is the

valuable integration of education and action, to the mutual improvement of both.

In educational institutes and schools this summer, ethics and civil rights have important places. Attention is also being given to the problems of internal union democracy and of communication between leaders and led. These problems become greater as unions increase in size. Members and officers can be involved in applying the ethical practices codes only if they understand the issues.

It is easy to understand that if the individual worker is motivated only by "what's-in-it-for-me," and his leader likewise, there will be temptations for union leaders to play both sides of the street and for members to ignore their obligations to their fellow members.

Education in the aims and methods of labor is necessary to create a conscious philosophy of group solidarity. Such education is the best antidote to the get-rich-quick illusions, regardless of the means, which still afflict our society.

The unions in their united nationwide operation are concerned with the welfare of all workers and develop social unionism. For example, extension of the minimum wage and improvements of social security benefit all workers, whether they are members of unions or not. This recognition of larger aims as compared with

narrow business unionism is best attained by education, which is also the best preventive of corruption.

IN THE institutes and conferences of the AFL-CIO Department of Education and in those run directly by the individual unions—also in those of the American Labor Education Service—the topics now include automation, radiation hazards, civil rights and the removal of prejudice.

International relations will remain high on the agenda. Happily, there are many unions and individuals who are competent in this field. Exchange students and visiting foreign union representatives are utilized.

Improved understanding of world problems will not exclude local issues. There will be continued emphasis on specific union problems and the relating of union activities to the community in which it is situated. And social and recreational activity in a wide variety must be maintained.

Most of the unions active in workers' education issue their own study outlines and primers. Many unions publish extensive reports on the educational institutes they hold. Sometimes the knowledge acquired is applied to drafting new clauses for the next collective bargaining agreement as well as studying and understanding the provisions of the old contract.

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becoming increasingly popular in the labor movement. For example, Local 22 of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, during the Washington's Birthday holiday weekend, took three bus loads of members, very largely at their own expense, to the nation's capital. They saw the White House, Mount Vernon and the Capitol. They heard talks on national matters of current importance.

Other unions, such as the Textile Workers, have conducted week-long seminars, using the same combination of sightseeing and political education. Some unions are cooperating with the American Labor Education Service in running workshops in New York, which include sitting in at sessions of the United Nations.

More than in any other country, television, radio, newspapers and the movies provide competition for union meetings and study classes. Young Abraham Lincoln might have had

difficulty in reading the Bible and Shakespeare when his wood fire flickered, but at least he did not have his neighbor's blaring radio or his own television to distract him from his studies.

IN CONTRAST to the days when unions were small and their members tested by the ordeal of sacrifice and the picket line, there is all too little probing of the fundamentals in workers' education. Thousands of trade unionists and members of their families are not well informed about labor's record of achievement. And accurate information and understanding of the unions by their members are its best protection at all times.

We need to know the *why* as well as the *how* of the labor movement. Some of us still think that workers' education should provide movers and shakers as well as effective shop stewards.

When Women Work

(Continued from Page 9)

she has the skill to do the work. The solution to discrimination against women requires active unions and active women members who know their rights and will report cases to their union officials. An equal pay for equal work clause in a contract is an important first step. But it takes more than an equal pay clause in a master agreement to eliminate dual seniority lists and inequalities in wage relationships between job classifications.

Local unions must utilize grievance procedures and enforce contract provisions to remove discrimination at the plant level.

In some ways women workers have benefited economically from the fact that they are women.

Comparatively early in our industrial history, it was recognized that physical differences between men and women called for protective legislation. Today some of these laws, especially state minimum wages, are being extended to include men. Society is beginning to recognize that laws promoting safety and economic security, originally intended for women alone, make sense for all workers.

In the area of unemployment compensation, however, state laws operate

against women in the case of maternity. Many states restrict the rights of women to claim benefits when they become pregnant.

Some women cannot or do not want to work during pregnancy. But individual cases differ, and everyone knows of women who have worked up to the day of delivery with no ill effects. If a woman's present job is harmful in her condition, there may still be other work, either with her present employer or elsewhere, that she would be able to do.

The principle of unemployment compensation rests on the willingness and availability of a claimant for work. Except in the case of pregnancy, most laws leave it to administrators to determine whether an individual claimant meets these criteria. But in the case of pregnancy, thirty-one states spell out in the law arbitrary periods during which women are disqualified from receiving benefits. Illinois, for example, disqualifies a woman from claiming benefits for more than three months before the birth of a child and one month after childbirth.

Such public policies hardly encourage employers to adjust work assignments to allow pregnant women to work.

Popular songs, plays, films, poems, novels and other cultural developments show hardly any influence from labor's values and ideals. There is all too little deep and serious study in economics, labor history and international relations. There is no clear examination of the collectivist approach which is part of the thinking of the European labor movement. There is much talk about the health and medical care needs of the American people, but there is no real educational campaign for national health insurance.


We need more ideas to guide our actions and better perspective in which to place our immediate policies.

Nevertheless, the general activity, the variety and extent of new publications, the experiments being made in methods and subject matter and the increased union educational staff are all encouraging factors in Operation Workers' Education, 1957.

Under collective bargaining, unions have tried to provide prospective mothers with more flexible and discretionary standards in maternity cases, based on the following general principles:

1. Women on maternity leave shall retain and continue to accumulate seniority.
2. Maternity leave shall be granted employees at their discretion for the period of confinement.
3. An additional year of leave shall be granted if desired.
4. An employee who becomes available for work before the expiration of her leave will be permitted to return to work.

These and other policies for meeting the needs of women workers are as yet more a goal than a reality in



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most industries. For example, there has been little if any attention in recent years to the expansion of public nursery facilities—a need which will surely loom larger if present trends continue. Belatedly, federal and state agencies have recognized the need for special policies for older workers, but up to now most of the programs

are little more than pilot projects.

In “the best of all possible worlds,” mothers and wives shouldn’t have to go to work. But contrary to the impression one sometimes gets from women’s magazines, the vast majority of women are not working for the excitement of being away from home and out in the business world. They

are working because they need the money.

Today one out of every three workers in the U.S. is a woman. As long as paid employment is the rule for such a large number of women, private and public agencies must gear their policies to make the most of the abilities of women workers.

Who Teaches Your Children?

(Continued from Page 17)

of Teachers has helped finance court cases in recent years that strengthened the statutes. Without tenure protection, a teacher may be and generally is subject to discharge from year to year without explanation or reason.

This means that, in the absence of tenure, the classroom teacher is subject to contract insecurity and sandbagging from the front office. The school administration is free to create situations intended to make the teacher with an idea of bettering her lot “come crawling.”

Result: The dedicated teacher hangs on, while upwards of 100,000, or 10 per cent, of all the country’s teachers decide every year that their jobs are not worth the price, and quit teaching to take other jobs.

Few union men and women whose unions long ago gained them status, security and respect can conceive of the conditions under which American teachers often work. State labor federations were shocked this year to learn that state laws would be necessary to provide teachers with as much as thirty- or forty-minute duty-free lunch periods, and backed bills to make the lunch periods mandatory.

Principals uncurbed by strong teachers’ unions traditionally assign teachers during their supposed lunch hour to hall duty, call them in for conferences, and so on. State labor federations took over the sponsorship of the lunch period bill against opposition from organized school administration in many states.

Collective bargaining by teachers’ unions is being successfully done in some cities, but it is still in the pioneering state as compared with progress by other AFL-CIO affiliates. Far-sighted leaders of the American Federation of Teachers know that collective bargaining, plus tenure, is the key not only to a stabilized teaching pro-

fession but also to uniformly adequate education.

PIONEERING locals of the American Federation of Teachers have been successful in initiating collective bargaining for salaries and other benefits, quite frequently and most effectively with the support of their central labor unions.

In Montana, the Butte Teachers Union, Local 332, is defending its union security clause, one of the first in the country, in the district court, against attack by non-union teachers backed by the Montana Education Association. The A. F. of T. is supporting Local 332, as is the Montana AFL-CIO.

Gains have been made in fringe benefits—such as sick leave, pensions, health insurance and so on—but only in a relatively small percentage of the nation’s school districts. Negotiations for these benefits, as compared with the fringe gains achieved by other international unions, are still in the pioneering stage.



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Summed up, progress, steady and certain, is being made by A. F. of T. locals in salary negotiations and collective bargaining, academic freedom and political action, and grievance procedures.

Community struggles for better schools and better teachers against reactionary politicians and school administrators that the reader may have witnessed on television are not fiction.

Unbelievably, while the general public is agreed on the need for better schools and higher-paid teachers, numerous “education gimmicks” highlighted today in many areas include:

▶ The “merit rating” system of pay for teachers, in which supposedly superior teachers are paid more than others.

▶ Teacher aides, in which housewives are employed to “help” teachers in the classroom.

▶ Double and triple shift classes which shortchange children, some because of the teacher shortage.

▶ Attempts to teach classes by television, with the student unable to ask questions and get answers from teachers.

▶ Attempts to eliminate such things as kindergarten, physical training, driver training, art and playground and recreation supervision, to cut school costs.

Probably the most vicious of all “gimmicks”—since there is no way of rating one teacher above another of equal experience on a dollars-and-cents basis—is the so-called and misnamed “merit rating” system now being promoted over the country. Suffice it to say, this “system” was tried and found wanting, to the extent that it disrupted the teaching staffs in numerous localities, in the late Twenties and early Thirties.

Strong teachers’ unions have been successful in defeating also the harassment and restrictions attempted upon them by superintendents and principals. These range all the way from a school board order in San

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San Francisco forbidding teachers to take part in politics to bans on the use of school mailboxes for union mail.

The San Francisco taboo resulted in an act by the Legislature guaranteeing political freedom of teachers, and our Local 781, in Kingston, New York, has just won a two-year fight for the right to use the school mailboxes and bulletin boards as do other teachers' organizations.

The fight of the American Federation of Teachers for better educational standards and to organize and protect the good teachers that we now have has become a continuous running battle across the country, in the courts, in the schools, in the state legislatures and in the communities.

A bitter opponent of the American Federation of Teachers and its state and local federations is the National

Education Association which, while impotent in union techniques, battles the A. F. of T. as a competitor for its members.

It will surprise most union members that, while professing to be a classroom teachers' organization, the NEA is comprised of both administrators and teachers, or anyone else who applies and pays the membership dues.

IN A recent issue of *Time* it was said:

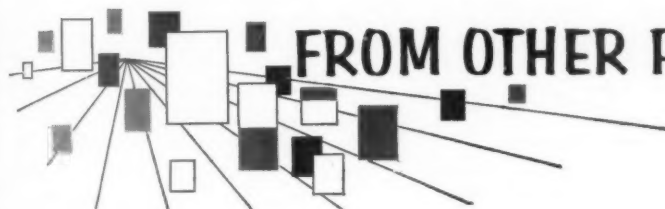
"The NEA is fiercely opposed to the AFL-CIO's efforts to organize a teachers' union, considers the NEA's own methods far sounder in helping teachers improve their lot.

"The American people," says the NEA's Executive Secretary William G. Carr, "do not want their teachers

to become a part of a particular segment of American life." Should organized labor ever get a real hold on the profession, "the whole character of American education would change."

Against this background, unbelievable to union leaders, the American Federation of Teachers is constantly gaining. Every union member has a stake in the battle, because it is a battle for his or her children.

Using the trade union armor, it is a drive to attract and keep good teachers in America's classrooms to teach your children and mine so that they may be able to build a better world and live better lives. Labor leaders will hear more about this from the A. F. of T.'s forty-first annual convention, to be held August 19 to 23, in Chicago.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

New Front

From AFL-CIO News

Watch out for a new "front organization"—the National Citizens Committee to Curb Inflation. It will be working in what the advertising big-shots like to call the "grass roots," to "educate" the American people about the dangers of inflation.

But the National Citizens Committee isn't what it seems to be. It isn't a group of worried citizens. It is a group formed and financed by a second organization—the National Council for Community Improvement—which in turn is heavily financed by big corporations.

The National Citizens Committee to Curb Inflation is a phoney. It's designed to convince you that labor, and only labor, is "responsible" for inflation. That argument is a favorite of the big business boys, who are out to stop unions from winning decent pay levels for their members.

Beware of it, in the months to come. It's your pay envelope they're after.

Catch the Fat Cats

From United Automobile Worker

The labor movement believes, with good reason, that the latest succession of price rises has no significant connection with wage gains. Simple arithmetic proves that in the basic industries like auto and steel, where prices are not competitive at the factory level, prices have soared far beyond the amounts needed to cover wage

increases. There is considerable evidence that the same is true in other fields.

What is happening, therefore, is that a greater and greater share of the national income is going into the pockets of the owners of industry, and a smaller and smaller share into the hands of the rest of us.

Living in Debt

From The Railroad Telegrapher

We are in favor of installment credit which allows a working man to drive a car to and from work while he is paying for it. We favor installment credit which allows a young married couple to move into a new home before they become too old to enjoy it.

We do condemn, however, the attitude which pushes installment credit to its limits because it "improves the general standard of living" or "reaches the maximum consumer market."

We feel that too many Americans are substituting worldly possessions on installment plans for true contentment. They are struggling so hard to keep up with the Joneses who splurge on installment buying that the wife is working to supplement the income to pay the installments and the children are consequently deprived of a home life.

We find the philosophy of installment buying extending too far into public projects — into government spending — into world politics.

Better Think Twice

From Milwaukee Labor Press

A recent story in the *Wall Street Journal* commented on the annual spurt in serious accidents due to the do-it-yourself craze which apparently reaches its peak as summer begins. For a time references to the do-it-yourself victims were made in a humorous or whimsical vein. However, there is nothing funny in a brain concussion, a broken neck or even a severed finger.

The totals and the extent of injuries suffered by these amateur home craftsmen are sobering and should cause every would-be do-it-yourselfer to think twice before tackling any job obviously beyond his training, capabilities, endurance or experience.

Among the most dangerous jobs listed in a recent report of a prominent medical group were those involving use of ladders and power tools. One doctor said his treatment of accident cases tripled during the do-it-yourself season.

Don't Pass It By

From Textile Labor

Most of us don't get overly excited about elections unless they involve the Presidency or contests for Congress. In this fall's balloting neither will be at stake, of course, but that's no reason to sit out.

You'll probably get a chance to vote for a judge. Remember, judges can issue anti-labor injunctions. No doubt there'll be a race for sheriff in your area; sheriffs can deputize goons to smash picket lines. And there will be city council posts to be filled, too; city councils can pass ordinances restricting local organizing activities. So you're affected by any election.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 58 of the Lithographers, Wilmington, Del., has gained wage increases of \$8.50 a week, three weeks of vacation after three years of employment, an additional paid holiday and improved sickness and disability benefits at the Kaumagraph Corporation.

►The Insurance Workers of America have won a Labor Board election, 132 to 6, at the Mutual Life Insurance Company of California. Earlier the union succeeded in having the company rehire 126 agents it had fired.

►The United Textile Workers have gained pay increases aggregating 15 cents an hour and improved hospitalization benefits in a contract covering 1,300 employes of plants in the Paterson, N. J., area.

►The Stone and Allied Products Workers have obtained wage increases aggregating 25 cents an hour and improved vacations and life insurance at the Alpena Cement Products Company, Alpena, Mich.

►Local 1274, American Federation of Teachers, has won annual salary increases of \$600 to \$1000 at the Niles Township, Ill., High School. The local is less than a year old.

►Ralph Holmes and William McCullin, members of Lodge 1005 of the Machinists in Portland, Ore., have invented a clam gun which, they say, "makes clam digging a pleasure."

►Local 4-440 of the Woodworkers has negotiated wage increases, higher shift differentials and paid vacations up to four weeks at the Johns-Manville plant, Natchez, Miss.

►The Textile Workers Union of America has recently negotiated increases for 2,100 employes of the Celanese Corporation of America at its Cumberland, Md., plant.

►Scholarships offered by locals and



Clothing to be delivered to O'Sullivan strikers in Virginia is loaded into autos in Baltimore.

districts of the Steelworkers since 1947 have helped more than 1,000 boys and girls to go to college.

►Directly Affiliated Local 23010, Ludington, Mich., has gained notable contract improvements at the Star Watch Case Company. The union has won a package of 20 cents an hour and twenty-two of its twenty-four non-economic demands. Victory came after a strike.

►Directly Affiliated Local 22095, Cleveland, has negotiated two-year contracts with the Rooney, State and Cleveland optical concerns. Wages are increased 10 cents an hour in the first year. There will be a further boost in the second year.

►Members of Carpenters' locals in Los Angeles County, Calif., have gained pay increases totaling 37½ cents an hour under a new agreement with area contractors. In 1959 the employers will begin paying 10 cents an hour into a pension fund.

►Local 274 of the Furniture Workers has won a strike at the John B. Saltzerini Company, Covington, Va. The agreement provides aggregate increases for the employes ranging from 25 to 33 cents an hour.

►An arbitration plan which is satisfactory to the union has been won by Local 427, International Chemical Workers, at the Great Lakes Carbon Corporation, Morgantown, N. C.

►A wage increase has been won by Locals 66 and 72 of the Pulp and

Sulphite Workers at the Pejepscot Paper Division, Hearst Publishing Company, in Topsham, Maine.

►Directly affiliated AFL-CIO locals in Connecticut which have recently responded to President George Meany's appeal for contributions to the American Museum of Immigration, to be built at the foot of the Statue of Liberty in

New York Harbor, are Local 20705, New Haven; Locals 24345 and 24757, both Danbury; Local 24371, Torrington, and Local 23348, Georgetown.

►An alert steward of Local 410, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, stopped distribution of free cigarettes at the Westinghouse plant, Bloomfield, N. J., by representatives of the non-union R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.

►Wearing of bizarre clothing by high school students is on the wane, according to a survey by *The Advance*, publication of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

►Higher wages and fringe improvements have been won by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees for 7,500 members employed by seventeen hotels in downtown Chicago.

►Directly Affiliated Local 20665, Baltimore, has won a general pay increase and a provision for dependents' insurance in an accord with the Pemco Enamel Company.

►Hourly increases of 20 cents for journeymen and 10 cents for helpers have been obtained by Lodge 1223, Machinists, at Cornwall Electrical Sales, Cornwall, Ont.

►Local 345, Retail Clerks, has won an election at the Reliable Furniture Company, Rochester, N. Y.

►The Newspaper Guild has won an election at the Garden Grove, Calif., *Daily News*. The tally was 21 to 7.

Politics and Labor in Italy

(Continued from Page 19)

it could not have worked out better for Togliatti.

Now the Zoli government has been installed, after two previous unsuccessful attempts, the first by Zoli himself and the second by Fanfani, head of the Christian Democratic Party. The Segni government, originally a four-party center coalition, had been weakened down to a three-party one by the withdrawal of the small Republican Party on February 24. It fell when the Social Democratic PSDI, under Saragat's leadership, also withdrew from the government on May 5, leaving Segni in a hopeless minority.

With political passions at a height and mutual recriminations and tensions between the Christian Democrats and their erstwhile partners sharp, with all the parties keeping their eyes peeled on the coming elections and trying to score points each against all the rest, Zoli's first attempt to recreate a center government was doomed to failure. What emerged was a monocolor Christian Democratic government.

The political passions were hardly cooled and relations between the center parties hardly bettered by Zoli's sarcastic attack against the Social Democrats and the Republicans, especially the former, in his presentation speech to the Senate expounding the program of his government.

The program proposed by Zoli was quite good, in fact more progressive on the social level than that of any preceding government, yet Zoli got the votes only of the extreme right, the neo-Fascists and one wing of the Monarchists, the other wing abstaining. The Communists, Nenni Socialists and the three small democratic lay parties all voted against. Nevertheless, with this vote Zoli did have a small majority.

The anomalous situation of having a decent, progressive social program pretty much left of center and getting only the votes of the extreme right can be explained only by the reigning political passions and the Machiavellian maneuvering for position by the parties in the face of the coming elections.

The denouement was both dramatic and comic. Taunted by the Commu-

nists, Socialists and his erstwhile partners at being the captive of the Fascist-Monarchist bloc, Zoli dramatically announced in his second bid for support to the more important House of Deputies (a new government has to get a majority in both houses) that if he didn't get a majority without the votes of the Fascists (not the Monarchists, be it noted) whose support, he declared, he spurned, he would resign.

He coupled this declaration—in this writer's opinion, most unfortunately, for any overture to this stooge party of the Communists is dangerous—with a sort of oblique appeal to Nenni's PSI for support, thinking thus to "balance" his support from the right and overcome a possible negative reaction because of this in the public mind.

In the House of Deputies he again received only the support of the rights, his rather unsubtle overture to Nenni having failed in its intent, making it all the more silly. It was then announced that, even without counting the votes of the Fascists which had been cast for him, Zoli had gotten a majority of one. However, the next day it was dramatically revealed that there had been a mistake in counting. A subsequent recount showed that instead of a majority of one, Zoli, without the votes of the MSI, had failed of a majority by one vote. So he handed in the resignation of his government.

President Gronchi then appointed Fanfani, head of the Christian Democratic Party, to be *formateur*. In the interim between Zoli's resignation and Fanfani's attempt, some rethinking and soul-searching had gone on in the ranks of the center groups who, whatever their public protestations, really couldn't help but see the inadequacies and dangers of a monocolor CD government, which they themselves, by their intransigence, had practically forced. The leaders of the majority current in the PSDI, certainly, changed their tune a bit in the interim.

It was thought therefore, by political observers, that with the negative experience of Zoli's attempt upmost in the minds of all democrats, the chances of the recreation

of the four-party center had considerably improved. On his part, Fanfani, in line with the policy definitely stated publicly by his party, tried to do just that. But it was not to be.

Motivated partially by their distaste for the conservative social attitudes of the Liberal Party and partly by the continued obsession with Socialist unification, elements inside the Social Democratic PSDI and the Republican PRI indicated their opposition to the effort. Although the majority of the leadership was for it, the PSDI was hardly united since its not inconsiderable left wing, still plumping for Socialist unification, came out against the four-party formula, as did also Matteotti, the ex-secretary of the party, and his followers.

MATTEOTTI's counter-proposal was for a three-party government, excluding the Liberal Party, which government, lacking a majority in Parliament, would need either the support or the "benevolent" abstention of Nenni's PSI. The small Republican Party, with only five votes in Parliament (but every vote counts, with the center having such a slim majority) played hard to get, also refusing to go along in a coalition with the Liberals. The Liberals on their part refused to retreat from their conservative position on the very important Agrarian Pact issue between the landowners and the sharecroppers.

So we were back where we started from, the beginning of the crisis, with the bickering between the democratic parties continuing and with each demanding the acceptance of its full program before it would play ball. This judgment holds especially in regard to the Republican and Liberal parties, which must be held chiefly responsible for Fanfani's failure to form a center government.

It is regrettable that the three smaller democratic parties could not attain to the realism and responsibility of the minimum give-and-take-compromise necessary to hammer out a common, mutually acceptable program. Genuine as are the difficulties engendered by the social differences between the Liberals and the other democratic parties, difficult as it would be to form and maintain a four-party coalition, given the relation of forces as they are today, it is the best solution.

Certainly it would be more desirable if the relation of forces were such as to make possible a three-party (Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Republicans) government which could command a majority without having to depend upon the cooperation of a socially conservative party like the Liberals, something which might conceivably be brought about by the impending elections. But the elections are not yet, and the desirable is not the actual.

Lacking that possibility, any other alternative to the four-party formula could only be worse. A monocolor Christian Democratic government would lack a majority in Parliament and would be dependent for its life either on the right or the left. A three-party government without the Liberals would also lack a majority and be dependent for its existence on the support of Nenni's PSI. Any opening toward Nenni (the notorious "opening to the left" so amazingly dear to too many politicians in democratic ranks), considering the PSI's political line and its pro-Communist leadership, would, in the long run, only be an opening toward the Communists. This would be the most dangerous "experiment" of all for Italian democracy.

But a monocolor Christian Democratic Party government is what the country finally got. For after Fanfani's failure, Gronchi made a move as surprising as it was unexpected. He blithely announced that he had never accepted the proffered resignation of Zoli and so was now putting him back again at the helm in view of the fact that he had originally received a majority in both Houses and was thus constitutionally entitled to carry on.

The only good point about the installation of Zoli is that with it the crisis ends, for its excessive prolongation was creating confusion and uncertainty in the country which the Communists were exploiting to their political advantage. Aside from that, Zoli's government is regrettable in every way.

For one thing, it is morally compromised by Zoli's now accepting—versus his own previous declaration—the fact that his majority is impossible without the votes of the Fascists. Secondly, the lefts will increasingly exploit the fact of its being a

government that owes its life to the rights, something which the Christian Democrats certainly cannot be too happy about, for it may genuinely hurt them in the forthcoming elections. Thirdly, it has again widened the gulf between the CD and the other democratic parties, especially the Social Democratic PSDI. Saragat on June 25 announced that the PSDI will move into the opposition and once again has held out an invitation for Socialist unification to Nenni and the PSI, thus dragging that dangerously confusing bugaboo again into the center of the drama.

Though the same right-wing parties indicated their acceptance of Zoli and all the other parties of the left and the center indicated their dissatisfaction, there was no formal vote taken. By default, the government is being allowed to exist because nobody wants to start another crisis. It may be allowed to stagger along until the next elections, in the meantime trying to attend to some concrete problems hanging fire and needing attention like the budget, the Common European Market, Euratom, the Agrarian Pact problem, etc. But the situation remains delicate, difficult and dangerous.

The very existence and character of the Zoli government is a dramatic symbol of the ineptitude and lack of statesmanship of the democratic parties. It is a situation which no genuine democrat concerned about Italian democracy can be happy about.

THE picture on the trade union front fortunately is a brighter one for the democratic forces. Compared with the ineptitude shown by the democratic parties on the political front, the two anti-Communist trade union federations—CISL and UIL—have done a magnificent job. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that, in the continuously difficult and bitter struggle against Communist totalitarianism, the successes achieved by the democratic unions in the factories and on the land represent the brightest spot in the total picture. Steadily and surely, the democratic unions, during the last few years, have lowered the large majority in the factories which the CGIL (the Communist-dominated trade union federation) unfortunately enjoyed.



Giulio Pastore is the leader of CISL, larger of the two democratic labor federations.

When I arrived in Italy some four years ago, the Communist Party, aided by its stooge, the PSI, could still pull a successful national strike through its chief agent for social mischief, the CGIL. But those days are long past.

At the end of 1953 Di Vittorio, Communist head of the CGIL, could boast that the CGIL "in spite of splits from us (which he sneered at) still gets 70 per cent of the votes in the factories." Today Di Vittorio is sneering out of the other side of his mouth, for the democratic trade unions have already brought the CGIL virtually to the point of a minority position.

I have before me the study put out by the research office of CISL, the larger of the two democratic trade union federations, on the 1956 shop steward elections all over Italy. The overall results of the entire year's elections in the factories (all figures are taken from this study) show that the CGIL just barely topped 50 per cent of the total vote. There were elections in 3,199 establishments, containing over 1,166,203 workers; slightly over a million workers voted and slightly under a million ballots were valid. The figures:

	Votes		Shop Stewards	
	No.	%	No.	%
CGIL	490,443	51.0	6,057	45.7
CISL	363,346	37.8	5,754	43.4
UIL	67,376	7.0	604	4.6
Others	39,776	4.2	831	6.3

It is to be noticed that whereas

the Communist CGIL still (though barely) exceeded 50 per cent of the vote, it had already fallen to below 50 per cent of the total number of shop stewards elected. Here CISL alone was right on the heels of the CGIL, whereas the democratic unions together—CISL and UIL—have already outdistanced the CGIL. The significance of this cannot be overestimated.

Certainly, if the rate of loss by Italy's Communists continues in 1957 as it has during the last three years, then the free unions ought easily to go over the top, and the end of 1957 ought to see the CGIL definitely relegated to a minority position. The figures already available for the first few months of this year tend to confirm this expectation.

From the CISL office again I get the following figures of all the shop steward elections up to and including April 19 (with elections held in 870 establishments, containing 344,547 workers, and almost 300,000 valid ballots):

	Votes	
	No.	%
CISL	124,121	42.6
CGIL	121,634	41.7
UIL	31,789	10.9
Others	13,841	4.8

Here we see that CISL alone is outdistancing the Communist CGIL, which has gained less than 42 per cent of the vote so far, and that CISL and UIL together are running at 53.5 per cent of the total vote.

It is in the light of the above encouraging figures that the future looks so hopeful. The lesson to be drawn from recent developments—the ineptitude of the political parties as contrasted with the successes of the democratic trade union federations—would seem to be crystal clear: the unity of Italy's democratic trade union forces is now necessary more than ever before. More than any other relevant factor, such unity will speed up the process of putting the CGIL into a minority position in the Italian labor movement.

A united democratic trade union movement, in keeping the Communists in a minority position, would immeasurably strengthen Italian democracy. With its own strength greatly enhanced, the democratic labor movement could certainly push the democratic political parties to

adopt progressive social policies more consistently, something which is absolutely necessary to combat Communist demagoguery in a country where exploitation of workers still is too severe and wages too low. A united labor movement would make less possible the success of the attempts still being made by political parties to interfere in the life of the trade union movement. From every point of view it would be salutary.

It is to be hoped that political, religious and ideological differences

of an extraneous sort—insofar as the basic aims of democratic trade unionism are concerned—which have unfortunately plagued the existing relations between the two democratic trade union federations, will be tempered by greater wisdom to the point of gradual disappearance. It would be tragic if they were still allowed to interfere with the developing process of democratic labor unity which is so clearly indicated and so desperately needed as democracy's greatest stabilizing factor in Italy.

Book Note

A FAITHFUL tribute to a great American, written by a frail and faithful hand of a disciple, is the slim volume entitled *Samuel Gompers: American Statesman*.*

Florence Thorne, who for many years worked with Gompers as a confidential aide, a research assistant and a writing assistant in the preparation of Gompers' autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*,** and later the research director of the A. F. of L., is the author of this timely and valuable study.

She sketches out on the pages of this book and brings into focus the strong personality of the founder of the American Federation of Labor, its guiding spirit and its foremost servant in the first four decades of its history. She portrays him in action, as he was grappling with the issues, conflicts and changing conditions of the day, and also as the philosopher of American labor and the leading statesman on the American national scene.

This brief account is not an interpretation of Gompers. On its pages Gompers speaks for himself. Drawing on her own first-hand knowledge of events and occasional personal

* *Samuel Gompers: American Statesman*, by Florence Calvert Thorne. Philosophical Library, New York, 1957. 175 pages. \$3.75.

** Samuel Gompers' classic autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, has been recently republished by Macmillan in a new and revised edition under the editorship of Professor Philip Taft of Brown University, author of *The A. F. of L. in the Time of Gompers*.



Samuel Gompers
*His strong personality
is brought into focus.*

memoranda in her possession, as well as on Gompers' personal papers in the Astor Library in New York and the records in the A. F. of L. archives, Miss Thorne was able to bring together a unique record of principles and points of view expressed and expounded by Gompers himself, and to thread these together in a meaningful exposition of his basic philosophy.

Gompers' philosophy of voluntarism, his opposition to regimentation, his devotion to non-partisan political action by organized labor, his stand against discrimination and his reliance on collective bargaining as labor's chosen instrument in a free society are all vital parts of the faith—the faith in freedom and in human dignity—that on his deathbed Gompers asked his fellow-unionists to keep in the years ahead.—B.S.

WHAT THEY SAY

Wayne Morse, Senator from Oregon—I happen to be one who believes



that the capitalistic system is so sound in the promotion of economic freedom that you cannot cite any other type of economy in which political freedom exists for the individual. Give me any of these other economies and I will show you an economy in which the people are not economically free nor politically either. You cannot be the masters of your state if you are economic slaves of your state.

I believe that the capitalistic order is so sound that it is capable of passing social welfare legislation that will protect the American people in old age, give them a decent standard of living and also provide them guarantees against fear of disability.

James B. Carey, president, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—The



overwhelming big business pressure upon the American community made the AFL-CIO merger almost inevitable. Only a merged labor federation can, in this day and age, face up to the increasingly complex problems before us—including the all-important problem of awakening our members and the American public to the truth regarding the issues of our day.

I do not think that the responsibilities of the trade union movement are new. I think that we need new approaches to our problems and that we face new kinds of problems. I think that we may require new methods in some areas, that we will require more imaginative approaches and that we may have to strike out in new directions. Our responsibilities, however, lie in improving the wages and working conditions of our

members, bettering the conditions of all workers at home and abroad, defending and extending democracy within our movement and throughout the world, organizing the unorganized, winning improved social and labor legislation and building a better world.

This is a broad set of responsibilities, I admit, and a set that covers almost every area of our lives. Yet this has been our responsibility from the start, although there may have been times when this responsibility was not fully or properly assumed.

Russell M. Stephens, president, American Federation of Technical Engineers—The



serious national shortage of engineers, scientists and technicians is apparent to all. One need only to scan the classified ad section of any newspaper to note the frantic competition existing today for the services of these highly and uniquely skilled workers. One need only to scan the records of the Civil Service Commission to note the poor success it has had in its attempt to recruit these people.

The major factor in the present shortage is an increase in the demand, rather than simply a shortage in the training processes. The demand for scientists and engineers has been greatly accelerated by the federal government's research and development expenditures.

With the need for the services of these people, does it make any sense for the government to be tied to a horse-and-buggy pay policy that prevents its own establishments from being in a successfully competitive position?

Richard E. Lankford, Congressman from Maryland—The list of labor's contributions to the betterment of our community life in America is infinitely longer and far outweighs dishonest actions performed by a few transgressors.

Walter Reuther, president, United Auto Workers—In the last two years



the automobile industry has suffered a decline in sales. It is currently operating at about 60 per cent of capacity — despite a need for new automobiles and trucks. The steel industry is operating at less than capacity. The electrical appliance industry, the textile industry and other basic industries are operating at well below capacity, and the workers in these industries have been suffering unemployment and underemployment.

There is a desire and need for these products, but the great mass of consumers do not have the purchasing power to buy what they want and need.

The present inflation is artificial because it has been artificially rigged by a few corporations which, because of their dominant positions in industry, set the price of their products without any relation to the laws of supply and demand.

Both management and labor ought to be prepared to present all the facts before a Congressional committee so that the American public will know all the facts and in turn fix the economic and moral responsibility for inflationary pressures which are forcing up the cost of living.

Emanuel Celler, Congressman from New York—National health insurance



is not "socialized medicine." It is insurance. The purpose is to enable the American people to pay for good medical care and good hospital care by requiring them to put a small percentage of their income into a national insurance fund which would be used to provide such services when needed.

The idea of national health insurance is based on the same principle as social security. Under national health insurance periodic payment would be made at a time when ability to pay is present, in order to provide for future needs.